

R0841

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1944



PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

INDIA—SCIENTIFIC DEVELOPMENT OR DISASTER

By PROFESSOR A. V. HILL, M.P., F.R.S.

Most of the audience today know far more about India than the speaker does. Many of you have had a long connection with India, some have lived there a good many years, while I have been there only for five months—and that for a special purpose which kept me so busy that many important aspects of Indian life, and most of the places best worth visiting, are still unknown to me. If I dare to speak emphatically about Indian problems that is for two reasons: first, that I was given very special facilities during those five months for judging what the vital needs of India really are, and how slender still are the means and resources to meet them; and, second, that I have become convinced of the extreme urgency of a new approach to Indian problems, here and in India itself.

This is a time for greatness in Indian affairs: if prejudice, shortsightedness and faction are allowed to take the place of wisdom, forethought and collaboration, then I can see little but misery or disaster ahead—not in the distant future but within twenty-five years. India cannot remain as she is in a rapidly changing world: either she must go forward along the path of modern progress, or else she will certainly go back. All who have been in India, even for a few months, know something of the grace and loyalty of Indian friendship—from poor and rich alike. One would be failing in friendship oneself not to make the danger as one sees it abundantly clear. It is literally true of India that where there is no vision the people perish: vision and courage are needed in full measure if misery and calamity are to be averted and happiness and prosperity achieved.

The title of this lecture—"Scientific Development or Disaster"—is deliberately provocative: but I hope to convince you that it is not exaggerated and that those are, in fact, the alternatives: if so, we had better be aware of them. There are over 400 million people in India today—more than eight times the population of Great Britain; and they are increasing now by 15 per thousand annually, about six millions every year. The mortality is very high; at every age up to 55 it is four to eight times ours. The crude death-rate it is true is only twice ours, but that is because, owing to the high mortality, the population of India is so much younger than ours; and—other things being equal—young people have a lower mortality than older ones. Only half the people born reach the age of 22, with us two-thirds reach 60. Of Indian girl babies born, only 57 per cent. reach childbearing age, compared with 88 per cent. of ours: and although in India only about half the girls who reach that age survive to the end of the normal childbearing period, as compared with 89 per cent. in England, they nevertheless produce on the average twice as many babies as Englishwomen do. As public health measures and nutrition improve, the mortality will diminish and the population will increase still faster.

ILL-HEALTH AND MALNUTRITION

Far more important, however, than the mortality itself, from the point of view of efficiency and prosperity, is the fact which causes the high mortality—namely, that ill-health and malnutrition are widespread. Between 100 and 200 million people suffer

from malaria every year, and more than half the deaths in India are attributed to "fevers." Tuberculosis, cholera, smallpox, plague, guinea-worm and filarial infection, yaws, kala-azar and many other infectious diseases take their continued toll of life and health. Deficiency diseases due to malnutrition, which can be seen in England today only in experimental animals, are common: indeed, according to any reasonable modern standards a large part of the population is underfed, in quality of food even worse than quantity; and chronic malnutrition acts with disease in a vicious circle, producing poverty, misery and inefficiency. The great influenza epidemic of 1918-19, working on a population chronically undernourished, killed very many millions, far more than any famine known to history.

All this is no new thing in India, and it does no good blaming it on anyone: indeed, the present rapid increase of population is a sign that conditions have substantially improved in recent years; for there is no reason at all to attribute the present upward trend to an increase of fertility or a greater urge to reproduction. In the last two centuries India has slowly been adopting the methods and ideas of modern western civilization, and improvements in public health, agriculture, transport, industry, and all the machinery of administration and control have had this effect. Some people may hold that to have started India on this path at all was a mistake. But in the "good old days" to which they fondly look back the reproductive impulse was no weaker than it is now; and if the population then was only a third of what it is today, that is merely a sign that mortality was even higher and malnutrition and disease even worse than now. Others, taking the contrary view, may argue that these methods of western civilization should already have been applied in India with far greater vigour than they have been yet. That may be; but there is little use now in disputing about the past. One thing is certain, that having started on this path there is no going back without terrible misery and disaster: the only thing is to go on—but to do so with one's eyes open, knowing where one is going and realizing the dangers that lie on either hand.

A VICIOUS CIRCLE

If time were on India's side she might hope to let events take their "natural" course—though nature is pretty bloodthirsty at times; but, in fact, the need is acute. The first of all India's requirements, if she is to be happy, efficient and prosperous, is better health, and that implies beyond everything more and better food. But the immediate consequence of better health and better food is a lowering of mortality, which means a further increase of population and—as regards food, at any rate—we are soon back where we were. In quality and calories together India needs at once at least 50 per cent. more food than she now has; give her that and her population will increase not by 15 per thousand per annum but by 20 or 25—it is already 20 in the Punjab! Then in thirty years or so the food supply will have to be doubled again, to be three times what it is now. Which is asking rather a lot; as a dog might say chasing his own tail.

Wishful thinkers say that we have only to raise the standard of life and the birth-rate will automatically come down. By *how much* shall we have to raise the standard of life before the expected result will be obtained? And will not the first effect be the wrong way round? In the Punjab, which is one of the most prosperous regions of India, the birth-rate is 20 per cent. higher than in India as a whole, 40 per cent. more than in relatively impoverished Bengal. And how *can* the standard of life be raised against the pressure of this overwhelming impulse to reproduction? Others, almost equally wishful in their thinking, put their trust in industrialization; but throughout the nineteenth century, the age of industrialization, the population of England and Wales steadily increased, in spite of emigration, by 12 to 18 per cent. every ten years; and in any case less than one-sixth of the people of India live in towns, and industry cannot possibly absorb more than a fraction of the total annual increase. Others look to education, particularly the education of women, of whom at present only about 5 per cent. are literate in their own language, less than 1 per cent. in English; but that is bound to take a long time, and birth-control has to encounter the fiercest prejudice of religion and custom before it is commonly accepted.

INDIA A NATURAL UNIT

Most of us in England look forward to the day when India will be an independent nation, a proud and self-respecting member of the British Commonwealth. Can self-government be achieved without the splitting up of India, without disorganization and strife? Nobody knows, but the experiment has to be made. India is a natural geographic and economic unit: it must have a unified defence against warlike aggression; it can only be prosperous, efficient and secure if a good deal of co-operation, of give and take, exists between the different regions and communities. Artificial boundaries, restrictions, enmities and interferences will make the development of India far slower, will hinder the growth of a sense of National Purpose, will defer for many years the attainment of health, welfare, prosperity and security as the birth-right of every Indian. If political discord were to lead to actual disorder, all the public services would suffer, and epidemics like that of influenza in 1918-19 would be given a wonderful opportunity of attacking a population enfeebled by want, undernourishment and misery. Many tens of millions of people might then die from famine and disease, and Indian progress would be put back for many years. It is easy for enthusiasts to shout "Quit India," and to suppose that all will then be well; but the solution of India's problems is not really as simple as that!

THE SURVEY OF HEALTH

The first of all needs in India is for better health: that affects the happiness and prosperity of everyone. Some people may say, "But what is the good of saving people from disease to allow them to die of famine?" A wise old friend of mine wrote me recently, "You can't keep cats without drowning the kittens"; put in terms of *homo sapiens* instead of *felis cattus* this means, "You can't have a higher standard of life without limiting reproduction." Whatever we may think about a high mortality for preventing population from outstripping food supplies there are no advantages in widespread illness and inefficiency. In British India as a whole there is only one public health inspector to more than one hundred thousand people; while according to our standards there ought to be seven times as many doctors, twenty times as many midwives, seventy times as many health visitors, and one hundred times as many nurses as there are—even taking no account of the fact that ill-health is several times as common and births are two and a half times as frequent as in England.

It is clear then that public health measures in India and the medical services and their auxiliaries must be greatly strengthened, and, in fact, the Government of India have set up a very powerful and experienced Committee under Sir Joseph Bhore as chairman (the Health Survey and Development Committee), to look into the whole business and report. Their report when it comes will probably be a pretty drastic one; but whatever is recommended will take many years to achieve, because of the present lack of teachers, accommodation and equipment, and the unwillingness of women, as yet, to join the nursing and midwives services. Like education, health can only be achieved gradually on a long-range plan; but health and education are the fundamental necessities of a better life for India.

If time were on her side India could plan a balanced development in all those things on which human betterment depends: education, health, agriculture, industry, engineering, transport, and so on. She still must do so; but her need, in fact, is acute, and side by side with long-range planning must be plans for meeting the current emergency. If disaster can be staved off for thirty years, education, public health and public opinion together may by then have produced a new outlook on the reproductive impulse, and so the situation may come under reasonable control. It depends very largely on the women of India that this should occur; then the plans of longer range for raising the standard of life all round can hope to bear fruit.

FOOD: A THREEFOLD INCREASE NEEDED

Let us see what this means. Let us assume that under the influence of gradually improving nutrition and better health the present rate of increase of population of 15 per cent. per ten years rises in successive decades to 18 per cent., 22 per cent. and 25 per cent. Then, in thirty years there will be 730 million people in India. If, by

then, the food available per person is 50 per cent. more than at present (in value, *i.e.*, in quantity and quality) the annual food production after thirty years will need to be 2.7 times as great as at present. Allowing a little for safety, plans must be made at once for increasing the food production of India threefold in thirty years. "A Plan of Economic Development for India" assumes a multiplier of 2.3 for agricultural output after fifteen years of operating the Plan. That is rather better than I have calculated, but not really too much.

In order to increase threefold in thirty years the annual food production of India, and to raise it by 50 per cent. as soon as possible, a very great national effort will be required: in bringing new land into cultivation, requiring great engineering works and the provision of electric power for irrigation; in land maintenance and averting land erosion; in building roads, railways, bridges and transport to open up the countryside; in research, to improve the breeds of plants and animals, and to overcome the diseases of both; in developing chemical industries, to supply fertilizers and chemicals for pest control; in designing and constructing farm machinery of all kinds; in providing fuel for peasant homes, to avoid the wasteful use of cow-dung as firing; in the scientific study of soils; in developing alternative uses for waste agricultural products—for example, by converting molasses (together with ammonium sulphate) into food yeast; by progress in meteorology, to enable forecasts to be given to farmers; and, above all, in technical and agricultural education and training.

One of the greatest things for Indian agriculturists—when it comes—will be broadcasting. All-India Radio has not yet the equipment, the staff, the electric power, or the experience to do more than touch the fringe of the vast potential listening public of India. But it is doing a good job under wise direction and gaining most valuable experience which will be wanted when radio sets and electric power, for transmission and receiving, become generally available. At present only a very small part of India is within reach of electric power, and there is practically no electrical or radio industry in India. Food processing (such as dehydration), refrigeration, the development of marine and freshwater fisheries, pest control; all such things and many others, based on modern scientific knowledge and research and requiring modern industrial methods for their application, are essential if more and better food is to reach the people who need it. Those are the technical factors; but social, legislative, administrative and religious changes also are needed to allow farming to be undertaken in units of sufficient size unburdened by debt to moneylenders, and to prevent the keeping of millions of useless farm animals. Strong administrative action also will be required to control shortages and prices. All this can be and must be done, but the task is tremendous; it can only be achieved by universal co-operation throughout India and the fullest use of modern scientific knowledge and methods.

ESSENTIALS OF STABLE PROGRESS

The next thirty years will be critical for India, and the first duty of all sensible, decent people is to see that everything is done to avert disaster, to maintain order and to provide the essentials for stable progress. A good friend of mine, an Indian boy of 14 years, invited me recently to tea in Delhi to meet a dozen of his schoolfellows. We had a fine time at first, but then they began arguing about politics. Most of them hotly contended, first, that they were slaves of the English—"in shackles" was their romantic phrase—to which I could only reply that they did not look a bit like slaves to me and the shackles were not very apparent; and, second, that India's freedom, self-respect and prosperity would only be obtained by bloodshed and revolution. It was evident that these children's ideas were derived from some common source, probably from a schoolmaster. If he and his friends had their way an appalling penalty would follow in disorganization, famine and disease; the factor of safety in India is far too low for luxuries like bloody revolutions, or for monkeying about with machinery already groaning under a heavy overload. Grown-up people who talk like that, whether here or in India, are doing the gravest disservice to hundreds of millions of their fellow-men. There is quite enough dumb misery already without adding to it by folly.

Let us assume, however, that no such disaster happens, that education, health and food steadily improve and the reproductive impulse comes gradually under reason-

able control, so that the kittens need not be drowned. Nothing that is humanly possible must be left undone to secure these foundations of a stable society in India; and the effort to lay these foundations firmly will take, for a good many years to come, a large part of all the effort that India can exert. Any that is left over can be spent in improving standards of living and amenities of life in a great variety of ways, most of which will require goods made by Indian industry or imported in exchange for Indian products.

Indian industry, therefore, must serve two ends: first and foremost that of providing the means of laying the firm foundations of a stable society, by providing the necessities of education, health and food, and then of supplying all those things which civilized people want for a better life. It is realized very clearly in India that a progressive industry will require far more science and technology than today as its basis, both in respect of tools, machinery and equipment, and also in the education and training of those who direct and operate it. India can produce excellent scientists, technologists, engineers and workmen—given education, training, experience and opportunity; indeed, those who have seen the way in which Indian youths training for the technical branches of the Army have recently got on have been astonished and delighted at their progress; the talent is there if only the opportunity and incentive are given. Somehow a sense of National Purpose must be created which will give the drive and initiative required.

PLANNING

A great deal has been going on behind the scenes in India lately in planning future developments: on the one hand, inside the Government departments; on the other, by various groups outside. There is also a great ferment in thoughtful people's minds, many of whom see the fruitlessness of political wrangling and are increasingly concerned about the welfare of their country. Something was wanted to make these various ideas and projects crystallize out into a single well-balanced workable plan of National Development. Realizing this, Lord Wavell recently decided, as was announced in the Press on June 1, to set up a new Department of Planning and Development and to appoint a new member of his Executive Council as its head. "The Honourable Member for Planning and Development" will be freed from ordinary departmental responsibilities and able to devote himself, with his staff, full time to the single purpose. His function will be, in consultation and co-operation with existing departments, to guide all new projects of National Development into a single well-balanced and co-ordinated plan; and for that purpose to make sure that modern methods of science and technology, and all the great natural resources of India in plants, animals, minerals, power, and human talent and labour are properly utilized. A grand job but an exacting one, and the whole future of India, and probably of more than India, depends on what can be made of it.

Very great satisfaction will be given in India by the Viceroy's action and the warmest possible approval greets the appointment of Sir Ardeshir Dalal to the new post. Sir Ardeshir is director and partner of Tata Sons, Ltd., and director since 1931 of the Tata Iron and Steel Company, whose steel works at Jamshedpur are still the greatest in the British Empire and one of the most remarkable technological and social experiments in the world. Among many other such activities he has been a prominent member of the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research. He has two special qualifications for such a task as this: he was brought up on science and took a First-Class in Natural Science at Cambridge; and from 1908 to 1931 he had a distinguished career in the I.C.S., so he knows the official as well as the industrial and technological side. It was largely by his initiative that the independent enquiry was set on foot by a number of Indian industrialists, from which "A Plan of Economic Development of India" was published in January of this year.

A GOOD START

A good start then—the best possible start—has been made, and if things go according to plan not only will disaster be averted but happier and more prosperous days will be in store for the people of India. But a sense of National Purpose must be created to which all men of wisdom and good-will can subscribe; and, even so, there

will be no easy way to the goal—only hard thought, hard work and a resolute use of scientific method, together with co-operation at home and abroad and a wide conviction that strife and discord will lead quickly to ruin.

In this we in Britain can help : first, by refusing to be drawn into futile recriminations about the past, or to take sides in current political controversy in India; second, by offering to receive a number of able young Indians for higher training or industrial experience into colleges, universities, medical schools and industrial works in this country; third, by being ready to co-operate with Indian industry on terms of reasonable equality and give-and-take; and fourth, by being prepared to send for a period, when they are available, experts of various kinds to help India to get her various projects started. We need not be too sensitive about abuse from a minority and answering back does no good; the vast majority of Indians still have a great friendliness towards us and will be proud and happy to see their country a Dominion of the British Commonwealth. A self-governing India, strong and contented within the Commonwealth, would add greatly to the prosperity and security of the Empire as a whole; and we need not imagine that we shall lose in the end by showing patience, confidence and generosity. But we must all realize, here and in India, that success or failure depends on the plans which are now in the making and on what is done about them in the next few years. We must understand that for India it really *is* a question of "Scientific Development or Disaster."

The foregoing address was delivered at the conclusion of the annual general meeting of the Association on July 4, 1944.

The PRESIDENT, in expressing the thanks of the meeting to Professor Hill, said that his paper had drawn attention in a striking manner to the grave situation which might arise in India unless she took up in all seriousness the question of the scientific development of her vast resources. Professor Hill had no need to apologize for the fact that he was only in India for five months. That merely went to strengthen his case. He went to India as an outsider, with no political prejudices, and his conclusions were in consequence those of a purely unbiased observer. The most impressive part of his address was his earnest appeal to Indians to give up wrangling about politics and concentrate on social and economic problems.

The speaker remembered vividly, when he was Governor of Bombay, the great harm, material and moral, which resulted from the civil disobedience movement. They wanted peace and goodwill and all the funds they could set aside for social work—education, hospitals and village improvement. These plans were brought to a standstill while the district officers had to concentrate the time and energy which should have been devoted to improving the conditions of the people in their charge on the suppression of futile political disturbances which led nowhere.

He was glad to see that the new Viceroy, Lord Wavell, was fully aware of the gravity of the situation. He had appointed as Reconstruction Member Sir Ardesbir Dalal, lately of the Indian Civil Service, and now managing director of Tata's, and had also set up a strong Health Survey and Development Committee under the chairmanship of Sir Joseph Bhore. Recently, too, a comprehensive scheme had been drawn up by leading Indian industrialists and known as the Bombay Plan, about which many of those present heard the other day from Mr. B. S. Saklatvala.

India had profited greatly by the war, which had placed her in a strong position financially. He earnestly hoped that India would not throw away her opportunity to banish the spectre of famine and want which had been close to her for so long.

It was still—and would be for a long time to come—the fact that agriculture was the basic industry of India, and the large bulk of the population would be wrapped up in agriculture. So what he would say to Professor Hill was that whilst they all agreed with what he had said in various directions as to the steps to be taken to improve the various services, a higher standard of health and of living, research and scientific development on production and distribution, transport and the rest were the keynotes, and he hoped and believed that this movement would gather great strength and would be one of the factors in the development that Professor Hill desired to bring about. They wished him success in trying to further the principles and ideas which he had so ably expressed.

PRINCES AND POLITICS IN INDIA

BY SIR WILLIAM BARTON, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

ALMOST exactly five years ago I read a paper to the East India Association entitled "Tension in the Indian States." The Congress Party had been in power in eight of the eleven Provinces of India for over two years. Their success led them to make a bid for supreme power. To achieve this a large measure of support from the States was essential. There was no hope of such support from a contingent of legislators nominated by the Princes, as provided in the India Act of 1935; the Princes must be induced to set up popular government and to allow the leaders of the people to choose their representatives in the Federal Legislature. The Congress High Command felt that the small cells or cliques of the Hindu intelligentsia with pro-Congress leanings they had been able to form in some of the leading States would provide adequate support in the Federal Parliament.

Congress intervention in the States took the form of violent agitation, especially in the more developed States. The movement failed. Mr. Gandhi realized too late that the Princes were not to be coerced. They stiffened the terms on which they would be prepared to join an Indian Government, with the result that federation receded into the background.

It is generally realized, both here, in America and in India, that a unified self-governing India can only be evolved if the Princes agree to join it. A quarter of the population of the sub-continent, and nearly half its area, can hardly be left out of account if India is to stand before the world either as an independent State or a self-governing member of the British Commonwealth.

The large number—between 400 and 500—of minute States is a complication. The British Government have recently sought to remove this difficulty by amalgamating the small units with the adjacent larger States with which they were formerly associated or to which they were tributary. Nearly 400 of them have in this way been linked to Baroda and several of the larger Kathiawar States. Other small States have been encouraged to join together for the purpose of providing the cost of a joint High Court, and of experts in various departments such as police, medicine, engineering, forestry, education. Many of the small, half-developed Eastern States and small States in Central India have adopted this system. The ideal would be to reduce the number of the States to 20 or 30. Obviously, it would be easier to negotiate an agreement with a group of this kind than with an indefinite number.

LONG TRADITIONS

Here we may pause for a moment to consider the indictment brought against Britain by the Congress and its propagandist agency in Britain and America, the India League and Congress supporters everywhere. These people profess to see in India a mighty nation panting for freedom under an imperialist tyranny. The States, in the eyes of their detractors, are a British creation, maintained as a bulwark of British rule against the rising tide of Indian democracy.

There is a good deal to be said in refutation of the charge. The majority of the States are Rajput; many of them are over a thousand years old, some founded when Britain was a Roman Province. Mysore and Travancore have a respectable antiquity. Hyderabad carries on a system of Muslim rule that dates back to the fourteenth century. The other important States are mostly Maratha, Baroda, Indore, Gwalior, Kolhapur, deriving from the great Maratha confederacy which for nearly a century before the establishment of the British régime exacted tribute at the sword's point from the greater part of India. Bhopal, Rampur and Bahawalpur were founded by Afghan military adventurers.

So much for the fiction that the States owe their origin to British intrigue. Another point is that the British Government encouraged the Princes to agree to a Federation which was certainly not to the advantage of Britain. To have kept the

two Indias apart would have consolidated British rule. A word of advice from the Viceroy in the opposite direction and Princely India would have decided to stand aloof from British India.

A still stronger argument for the defence is that the Viceroy did not intervene to protect the Princes against the Congress attack to which I have already referred. Such an indifference was hardly likely to stimulate the loyalty of the Indian Rulers.

Congress would settle the problem of Indian India by coercing the Princes to set up a democratic form of government. It is, in their view, the moral duty of the British Government to carry out such a policy. Here we may note that ten years ago Mr. Gandhi said emphatically that Congress had no more right to impose a Constitution on the Indian States than on Afghanistan or Ceylon. The British Government have no better right. In any case the administration of most of the bigger States, and of many of the smaller, compares favourably with the scheme of government in any of the independent States of the East. Hyderabad, for example, spends 35 per cent. of its revenue of £8 million on education and the social services; three of the larger States have universities; in several the standard of literacy is higher than in British India; in more than 70 per cent. there are legislative assemblies and executive councils; the administration generally is modelled on the lines of British India.

The majority of the States are Hindu. If they came into line with Congress, Hindu rule would be assured. Such a combination would be the best defence against Muslim separatism, against the dangers from Pakistan that obsess the Hindu mind.

Contrasted with Congress aggressiveness, the Muslim attitude towards the States is neutral; Muslims would prefer them to stand aside lest the Hindu States or the bulk of them should join the Congress. It must not be forgotten that the 100 million Muslims of India look on Hyderabad as the rallying point of Islam in India, and their cultural home. Any attempt to coerce the Hyderabad Government would excite fierce resentment in Muslim India. People with strong military traditions, such as the Sikhs, Marathas, Rajputs, Jats, have traditional leanings towards States governed by Princes of their own race; they would deprecate political pressure from Britain to force such States to take steps that might imperil their future. And it must not be forgotten that in many of the States the people themselves are loyal to the ancient ruling families, especially to those of Rajput origin.

THE PRINCES AND THE WAR

The Congress High Command withdrew its ministries on the outbreak of the war. They declined an offer to share in the administration; nothing would satisfy them short of a complete transfer of the Government into Indian hands—in other words, to Congress. A few months later a *Satyagraha* campaign was started, obviously with a view to embarrass Government.

On the other hand the Princes placed the whole of their resources at the disposal of the King-Emperor. Many units of the State forces, as well trained as the Indian Army, were sent overseas; fresh troops were raised. State forces are playing an important part in the defence of the North-West Frontier. Over two hundred thousand recruits have been raised in the States for the Indian armies; some States have recruited thousands of men for work on aerodromes. All the larger States have placed their industry on a war footing and are producing munitions on an extensive scale. Several of the States—Mysore, Baroda, Hyderabad—have provided funds for the equipment of squadrons of the R.A.F. Others—Travancore, Baroda—have given ships to the Indian Navy. Several of the leading Princes have visited their troops serving abroad; some have served also overseas with their forces. The Princes have indeed played a great part in the defence of their country. Their detractors would say that they are fighting for British imperialism on which they rely for the maintenance of their right to misrule. They may hope for a more favourable verdict at the bar of history.

It is hardly necessary before a meeting of the East India Association to refer to the splendid part India has played in the war, despite Congress opposition to Government. Races and peoples with martial traditions, Sikhs, Marathas, Rajputs, Panjabis, Muslims, Garhwalis, Dogras, Jats, Outcastes, have swarmed to the colours; the independent State of Nepal has provided nearly a hundred thousand men. Thousands

of the intelligentsia, including many from the States, have taken commissions in the new armies. Indian industry has been placed on a war footing.

THE STATES AND THE CRIPPS OFFER

In the hope of improving the position still further by winning over the intransigent elements the British Government in March, 1942, sent out Sir Stafford Cripps with a new offer affecting constitutional progress. Indians were to form their own Constitution after the war by means of a Constituent Assembly in which the Princes would be represented. The Constitution would be implemented by Act of Parliament and India might as she wished stay in or go out of the Commonwealth. Any State or Province could stay outside the new Indian Union, a concession which made possible the setting up of a separate Muslim State.

The position of the States was not clearly defined. The Princes were, however, prepared to co-operate in giving effect to the scheme. Nothing was said about their forming a union of their own. Some of them were alarmed at the proviso that should a State elect to remain outside the Union it would be necessary to revise its treaty to meet the altered conditions. The probability is that the reference is mainly to such questions as railways, posts and telegraphs, excise and similar questions, and not to the relations of the States with the Crown.

What other people in India thought of the Cripps offer with regard to the Princes is reflected in a statement to the Press by the well-known Congress leader, Mr. Rajgopalachari. According to him Sir Stafford Cripps assured the Princes that if it should be necessary, in order that the Crown might fulfil its treaty obligations to the Princes, to retain British troops in India, an adequate force would be stationed outside the Indian Union. This more or less accords with what the Secretary of State for India said in reply to a question in the House of Commons on December 3, 1942, that the treaties of the States with the Crown would remain valid except in so far as they had been affected by usage and sufferance.

Here one may comment that in the view of Congress supporters—such, for example, as Mr. H. N. Brailsford—the association of the Princes in the Cripps scheme made it impossible of acceptance. The Princes would never agree to a solution which would make an Indian political party arbiter of their destinies in an independent India; they would stand aside, with the result that the British Government would station troops in various States all over India; Indian independence or self-government under such conditions would be an illusion.

The object of the Princes, their detractors assert, is to maintain intact their autocratic privileges. But did not they agree at the Round Table Conference in 1931 to diminish their sovereignty to the extent necessary to make a federal scheme workable? And if that scheme had come into effect and a genuine democracy had developed in the British-Indian Provinces could the Princes have clung for any length of time to their theories of divine right? There is little doubt that if Congress had welcomed them in a federation in 1937 many of them would have given their people a voice in the selection of their Federal representatives. The result would almost certainly have been a Congress Government.

In August, 1942, Mr. Gandhi decided to abandon his policy of masterly inactivity and to fling down a challenge to the British Government. It was to be open rebellion. A stern warning was issued to the Princes. No longer would Congress stand by while the dumb millions of States subjects were oppressed and the voice of freedom stifled. In the disorders that followed some of the leading States were involved. As you know, in the end the situation was brought under control.

TREATY ARRANGEMENTS

Nearly two years have elapsed since the events just described. The deadlock continues. So far it is believed the Princes have offered no suggestion for a solution. Possibly they think, from what the Secretary of State said of the treaty position, they may safely await further developments.

That due provision should be made for external defence is vital to a solution of the Indian problem, both from the point of view of the Princes and of India generally. If the political parties in India agree on a Constitution with which the Princes refuse

to be associated, then Britain could hardly repudiate her obligation to afford military protection to the States if they desired it. But who would provide the finance? The Princes, for their part, would contend that they had assigned territory to meet the cost of the military guarantee—territory now included in the Provinces. The new Indian Union, they would urge, should meet the charge from the surplus revenue of the territory in question.

Whether a satisfactory agreement could be concluded would depend largely on the nature of the government to be set up in the new self-governing India. If a really stable form of government were evolved, based on an enduring agreement between Muslims, Sikhs, Hindus and Outcastes, it is possible that the new Government would welcome a British military alliance for a term of years. A treaty between Britain and the new India would in any case be necessary, and the British Government could insist that the new Government should either satisfy the Princes that the military position, both as regards external defence and internal security, was on a sound basis; or, if they failed to do so, a military treaty should be concluded with Britain which would provide for the stationing of a British force in India, on the analogy of the arrangement concluded with Egypt. The troops could be treated as a strategic reserve to protect Commonwealth interests in the Far East, in addition to their responsibility for carrying out Britain's obligations in the matter of the defence of India.

A military treaty with Britain would be almost inevitable if Hindus and Muslims failed to come to an agreement and self-government could only be achieved by the recognition of the Muslim claim to a separate State. An India divided between three antagonistic groups, Muslims, Hindus and the Princes, could hardly be responsible for her own defence. The problem would be simplified if India remained in the Commonwealth.

The defence of India is of primary importance, not only from an international point of view as affecting political stability in the Pacific, but also in the interests of the British Commonwealth. The internal security of the States is a different matter. By treaty Britain is pledged to intervene to put down insurrection. In a self-governing India, especially if the Government in the British Indian Provinces were based on representative principles, it would be very difficult for Britain to intervene to suppress disorders in a State arising either from misrule or as the result of a popular movement with the object of obtaining reasonable political concessions from the Ruler. The British Government would, in such circumstances, doubtless make it clear that if intervention were necessary it would only be carried out on condition that autocracy came to an end in the State in question. The Princes, as Lord Linlithgow reminded them in his farewell speech last October, can hardly deny that the Crown's obligation to protect them carries with it equally binding responsibilities to ensure, if need be, that what is protected continues to be worthy of protection.

SYSTEMS OF GOVERNMENT

This war is being fought for human freedom. It is unthinkable that autocracy should in future flourish under the shadow of the great empires ranged against Nazi tyranny. The Princes would do well to remember this. It is to the credit of many of the leading members of their order that they have gone a long way towards liberalising their administration; in some, as in Mysore, the governing system in vogue might be described as constitutional. But much remains to be done, and it is regrettable that in five years of war the Princes have not combined to evolve a system of government such as might inspire in their humblest subject the feeling that the days of arbitrary rule and official oppression had gone for ever. It is by no means necessary, in order to achieve that end, that they should imitate the British democratic system. There are other methods more suitable to Oriental conditions. In most States the middle classes are weak and unimportant, and to rely on the ballot-box might mean handing over the government to a handful of the intelligentsia of the towns, concerned to promote their own interests rather than the interests of the rural masses. The system of rule in vogue in the States has its roots in remote antiquity; it is respected by millions of States subjects and works well with the right type of Ruler; why not build on it a structure more in harmony with the spirit of the age? The vil-

large council or *panchayat* might well provide a foundation from which to rear the edifice.

The problem in the States, as in British India, is economic and social rather than political; the economic problem is mainly the problem of the peasantry. Almost everywhere they are involved in debt. With their peasantry solid behind them Rulers need not fear popular revolution or agitation promoted from outside. Would the voice of the demagogue be heard in the market-place in Hyderabad if the Government liquidated the £40 million of rural debt, replaced the moneylender with rural banks, extended irrigation, placed agriculture on an up-to-date footing?

On some of the older States, especially the Rajput States, the blight of feudalism still lingers. In many ways the peasant is little better than a serf of the Thakur or feudal baron. This should be remedied. The application of the methods adopted by the Tudor monarchs might well be justified.

Many of the States are evolving elaborate schemes of economic reconstruction to be put into effect after the war: Kashmir, Hyderabad, Jaipur, Gwalior, Travancore, for example. It is to be hoped that the emphasis will be on rural uplift. Co-operation with British India will be essential. It should be forthcoming.

THE CALL FOR LEADERSHIP

India needs new leadership. Is it unreasonable to hope that the Princes, with their long traditions of rule, their administrative experience, their close touch with Indian political problems, should lead the vanguard of progress? As Professor A. H. Hill told this Association a short time ago when reading a paper on India's economic problems, now is a time for greatness, a time for a bold effort of the imagination. Would it be to impute to the Princes qualities which they lack if one asserted that they might play a decisive part in clearing the road to freedom for India, to the four freedoms of the splendid vision that inspired the Atlantic Charter? They have many able counsellors from British India, well versed in Indian politics, serving in their administrations. Could they not, with the help such experts could give, evolve a system that would make the political unity of India possible; a system that would cut across communal divisions, healing the feuds that make a united India a mere dream? Could not such a combination of political talent, discarding outworn shibboleths and slogans, evolve a scheme of self-government adapted to the conditions of Indian economic and social life? Such a movement would attract widespread support, not only in the States, but with the majority of British India. Still more, it would almost inevitably follow from a settlement of Indian problems on these lines that India would, of her own free will, choose to remain in the British Commonwealth. Who can deny that such an achievement under the auspices of the Princes would ensure them a permanent place in the polity of India?

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held on Wednesday, July 19, 1944, at the Rooms of the Royal Society, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W. 1, with the Right Hon. Earl WINTERTON, M.P., presiding.

Sir WILLIAM BARTON read the foregoing paper on "Princes and Politics in India."

THE CHAIRMAN said that Sir William Barton had had wide experience in the course of his official career of the relationship of the Princes with British India and also with His Majesty's Government, and he had put his case extremely fairly and impartially. It was obviously a most controversial matter which was not easily susceptible to treatment in a non-party, non-political association. Sir William had avoided saying anything which might give offence. Although he had had a long personal experience of India it would be impertinent with his lesser knowledge to comment on anything

which Sir William had said from an internal point of view, but there was one matter which affected far wider considerations than India's own position.

Sir William said in the course of his remarks that "a military treaty with Britain would be almost inevitable if Hindus and Muslims failed to come to an agreement," and that an India divided into three groups could hardly be responsible for her own defence; the problem would be simplified if India remained in the Commonwealth. The speaker entirely agreed with that statement, but possibly because Sir William had taken up an impartial attitude he had not underlined it. This was a time for frankness both for India and Britain. The era in which most of the audience had lived had passed away for ever; only force meant anything now, and only force would preserve peace after the war. If and when and as long as India under self-government remained in the British Commonwealth he entirely agreed with Sir William that it would be necessary to come to some military treaty in respect of the forces which she would have to maintain. If India did not remain in the Commonwealth the picture would be very different. There was no parallel in the situation of Egypt with India. It was to the advantage of the people of Egypt, who were not an essentially military people, and who occupied a very difficult strategic position, that Great Britain should protect her against aggression; but if India left the Commonwealth, what was Britain's interest in her except in so far as sea and air communications with Australia and the Far Eastern possessions were maintained, which could be done by keeping aeroplanes and a harbour in some part of India? What happened to the rest of India was a matter for India and not for the British Empire if she ceased to be part of the Empire. It would be most wrong to say to India, "You have left the Empire, but you are so weak we will protect you." The British Empire did not do business on those lines, and that was a point which it was most important to consider.

If India did come within the Commonwealth, then he agreed that there must be some arrangement between the new India and the British Government in regard to the position of all minorities in the States. India must realize that this country was very tough today; it had not gone through what it had gone through without becoming so; its people were realists. It had been stated that we were in favour of an alliance between the foremost nations of the world—the British Empire and Dominions, China, Soviet Russia and the United States—and it was hoped that India would form part of that organization; but it was for India to say. If the answer was "No" there was nothing we could do for India and nothing we should do except in the part of India where it was necessary for there to be an outpost to safeguard our sea and air communications.

Sir ALFRED WATSON said that in the position he occupied in India he felt it a duty to refuse all offers of hospitality, of which there were many, from the Indian Princes simply because he felt that there might arise occasions upon which he would have to criticize, and criticize sharply, the administration in their States. But the character of the rule in those States was really a side issue to that which Sir William Barton had raised that day. Sir William said that India wanted a new leadership. All would agree with him, but the speaker could not share his hope that that new leadership would be found amongst the Indian Princes. The whole system of government in India had not been encouraging to independence of thought amongst the Princes about all-India problems. It had been a system of tutelage, of encouragement to good rule in the States, but it had also confined the orbit of the vision of the Princes to their own territories. No doubt the establishment of the Chamber of Princes was a breakaway from that system, but its functions were limited, and he looked in vain for any outstanding leader amongst the Princes who could give a voice to India and who would be followed by the Indian people.

When all that had been said, the problem of the Princes remained. He was not certain that the problem would be simplified; rather would it be intensified by such an amalgamation of the States as was now going forward in India. That amalgamation was raising very acute questions amongst the smaller States. The stronger the States, the less willing they would be to enter into that federation of India which was the first step towards the future unitary government of India.

The plan for federation contained in the 1935 Act was admirable. It was the one

solution that promised alike peace and good government. Its failure to come to a head was a striking confirmation of what he had said about the lack of leadership amongst the Indian Princes. The solution would have to be tried again; it would have to be enforced with all the very limited power which we could bring to bear. The States were a vital element in any future constitution in India; they could not be ignored; on the other hand, they could not be coerced. For us to attempt to coerce was impossible; for the Congress Party or the Muslim League to attempt it would lead immediately to civil war, in which it was far from certain that either the Congress or the Muslim League would win the day.

He was glad that Sir William Barton had spoken of the historical origin of the States. The widespread propaganda in this country which represented them as being the creation of the British was neither historical nor did it show knowledge of the conditions in which the States flourished in the past when they were nominally subject to a central power. India was then without communications of a modern kind; for all practical purposes the rulers were independent, and the States grew up and were administered in circumstances entirely different from those which existed today. To suggest that they could be swept away by a simple edict, by an Act of Parliament, or on the advice of the Viceroy was a wilful distortion of the truth. To use that kind of argument did not simplify the issue; it made any approach to the constitutional problem practically impossible. Far more important than unity between Muslims and Hindus was it important to bring the States into a single central Government in an independent India within the British Commonwealth.

Sir LANCELOT GRAHAM said that there seemed to be three kinds of politics involved in the paper. The first was the question of the attempts at intervention made by Congress at different times in the internal politics of the States, and on certain occasions Congress had succeeded in making a nuisance of itself, but he had not yet observed in any case that they had effected anything in the States whatever. He did not think that politics counted in the States. He remembered that in some States with which he was associated the Government of India, under a series of treaties or arrangements, policed the railway lines running through them, and the Congress Party, unable to hold its meetings on the State territory, held them on the station platforms, where the State police had no jurisdiction to forbid it. That was for some time a grievance with the State authorities, but so far as he could see the improvements which had been made in their constitutions by the States could not be traced back to Congress influence.

There was a reference to those improvements in Sir William Barton's paper, but he wished that Sir William had said more about the legislative assemblies and executive councils. Were they really operative, free from the dictation of the Princes or the Chief ministers? As an outsider he had his doubts. He knew that in many of the States a considerable portion of the members of the legislative assembly was elected on a reasonably wide franchise, but there was no sort of responsibility on the advisers. He did not think it could be said that much more than fair progress had been made in the way of constitutional changes in the States. Advances in the States must be substantial before they could become fit to join in an Indian federation.

Some of the States were very small and there was room for considerable amalgamation. He desired to make two points: first, that there must be a large and genuine constitutional development in the States, and, secondly, that many States were so small that in no circumstances could they make a Constitution or take any share in federation, and therefore an amalgamation with a parent State was probably the solution.

He had not referred to the main issue at all, but preferred to keep to what he knew a little about after considerable experience in India. The question of the part which the Princes were to play in a new Constitution was beyond his powers. He remembered being present at a gathering while the Simon Commission was in India when someone said that surely the solution must be federation, that the Princes could not stand out indefinitely. He thought that was the original mention of what was deemed to be something entirely new when the idea of federation was mooted in the early stages of the Round Table Conference.

In conclusion, he entirely agreed with the previous speakers that it was not part of a conspiracy on our part that the States had been brought into existence. Whether the States had become something of an anachronism was an entirely different issue; whether Britain was culpable for perpetuating such an anachronism was not within the scope of the meeting, but even if it was an anachronism we were bound by treaty to continue it so long as personal rule was a possible conception in any part of India, as it was in many sections of India at the present time. He was not so illiberal as to believe that democracy led merely to Nazi-ism and Fascism, but he did believe that the new wine of democracy might at times prove to be a very heady brew, and certainly large areas of States territory were not yet fit to be plunged into democracy, so that as far as the States were concerned there must first be genuine progress and genuine association of the people with the ruler, but let that progress be slow if it was to be sure.

Dr. RANJEE SHAHANY said that he was not an expert on the subject of the Princes; his knowledge was that of a mere student of Indian and international affairs. The paper, in his opinion, was very clear, cogent and helpful. Sir William Barton naturally had an affection for the Princes, but he had tried to be just. There was no doubt that the Princes had a part to play in the destiny of India, and it was neither fitting nor wise of the Congress Party to attempt to liquidate them. At the same time, as Sir Lancelot Graham had rightly remarked, there were about 600 Princes in India, many of them so small and insignificant that they could do no good to India, their people or themselves. These must disappear. The bigger States, on the other hand, had a contribution to make to the progress and well-being of India.

Sir William Barton had criticized the Congress attitude towards the Princes. But there were always two views about a problem: the sober and the inspired. He had presented what he thought to be the truth; we must, in justice, listen to the other side too.

The Chairman was a very brilliant man, and it was temerarious to disagree with him; yet one might argue with him on one point. He had said if India did not remain in the Commonwealth he did not see any reason why Britain should help her from the military point of view. That was perfectly true from a logical and realistic slant, but the Chairman forgot that India had aided Britain many times and might be able to aid her again. Britain needed India as much as India needed Britain.

The CHAIRMAN said that there had been an Act of Parliament to attach some of the smaller States in Kathiawar and Gujerat. These small States had taken great objection to the measure, which would affect about 400 of them.

Sir WILLIAM BARTON, in replying to the discussion, said, with regard to the Chairman's remarks referring to the question of a military treaty, that what he had meant was that if the Hindus and Muslims failed to come to an agreement, and if Pakistan were set up as a Muslim State, with Hindustan for the Hindus, and Rajistan, including the Princely States, then Britain could not step aside and tell the Princes that she was not going to fulfil her military obligations to them and to India. From the point of view of the Commonwealth and of the world at large we could not possibly leave India under such conditions, civil war would be inevitable, and one of the Far Eastern Powers might intervene, or Afghanistan might join up with the Muslims, and the whole peace of Asia be disturbed. Unless there were a unified India within the Commonwealth there must be a military treaty, a treaty enabling Britain to station troops at strategic points, treating them as a strategic reserve in the Pacific.

He thought Sir Lancelot Graham had replied to Sir Alfred Watson's criticisms. One reason for amalgamation was that there were so many of these tiny States that even if the ruler was out to help his people he could not provide them with the amenities to which they were entitled. Only by amalgamation with bigger States could those amenities be supplied.

The Baroda administration had been on a very high level; all the small States which had been joined to Baroda would benefit. That would be the case all round.

With regard to Sir Lancelot Graham's remarks on political development, he would

like to refer to Mysore as an example of what constitutional development meant in some of the States. The Mysore State had an elected assembly and at the last election twelve of the members were actually Congress men. There were two Ministers and two Executive Councillors. There was a safeguard that if a law or some resolution were passed which was against the public interest, then the Chief Minister could intervene, but on the whole one had to agree that in a State like Mysore there had been very considerable political development.

The object of democracy was to make sure that the people really had a fair deal. In this connection consider the small State of Gondal; it was not constitutionally far advanced, but the late Maharaja had made his administration so efficient that the investments of the State paid for the charges and there were no taxes at all. In a State like that one would not bother very much about democracy.

The CHAIRMAN said that he was anxious to be in agreement with the lecturer and Dr. Shahani, who called attention to the great military value of India's help, but what he really wanted to call attention to was that the situation was not quite what it used to be. The principal need for the British Commonwealth was to have its sea and air link with the Far East and with Australia; to try to see to it that no Power hostile to it was in possession of the land area of China or that of India. The British Empire had no means to ensure those things, but it could have posts, especially air posts, to support that policy. Within a short time it might be possible for aeroplanes to fly from New York, drop bombs in Europe, and fly back again. What was needed were air and sea bases. With regard to our position in India and our trade with India, he found when he was Chairman of the China Association that our trade with China was almost as great as our trade with India. These questions were all relevant because our relations with India depended upon the future composition and relationship of the world as a whole. Everything was so much nearer these days and many of the questions now being discussed would soon be out of date.

Sir JOHN HUBBARD proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer and to the Chairman, which was accorded by applause.

Mr. H. S. L. POLAK writes: Having to catch a train, I was unable to stay till the end of the discussion on Sir William Barton's very interesting paper.

He was right in emphasizing the absurdity of the argument, familiar both in this country and in America, that the States are an artificial creation of the British. If any part of India can be so described, it is surely British India and not the States.

When the late Maharaja of Bikanir announced, at the first Round-Table Conference, the Princes' willingness in principle to join an All-India Federation, it was largely due to the statesmanlike foresight of the Right Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who had convinced him both of its feasibility and of its desirability in the interests of India as a whole, and overriding all narrower concepts of self-interest.

It has been customary in circles desirous of disparaging the States and the Princes to lump the former together, without differentiation between the smaller and the more backward ones and the larger and the more progressive ones. But one has only to study the history, during the last twenty-five years, of Hyderabad, Mysore, Baroda and Travancore, to mention some of the latter, to realize how far economic, industrial, agricultural, educational, administrative and even political development has gone, comparing not at all unfavourably with corresponding British Indian areas.

This has been largely due to the wise choice of Chief Ministers by many of the more progressive Princes, who have been increasingly guided by their advice. These have come mostly from British India, and they have been, as a rule, Indians themselves, drawn from the public services or from public life. Names such as Sir Ali Imam, Sir Akbar Hydari, Sir T. Krishnamachari and Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar will be long remembered for their varied and enlightened contribution to the development of the States with which they have been associated.

But in course of time, local State patriotism has developed and there has been an increasing and a natural tendency to urge the appointment of State subjects to the highest offices.

Yet another tendency is now observable. States, both large and small, which were formerly regarded as backward are now realizing that the time has come for them to modernize their affairs and to play a larger part in the economic and industrial development of India. One is that of the appointment as Dewan of Jaipur of Sir Mirza Ismail, whose brilliant record in Mysore under the late Maharaja marks him out as one of India's most far-seeing statesmen.

ECONOMIC PLANNING FOR POST-WAR INDIA

By B. SH. SAKLATVALA

In this paper I shall try to convey to you the gist of the recently published scheme of economic development of India known as the Bombay Plan. Although I am connected with the firm of Tata, and although several of the signatories of the Plan are directors of various Tata concerns, I should explain that I have no inside information on the subject. Any conclusions that I may draw, or any opinions I may express, are purely personal.

The authors of the Plan have made two assumptions. For the purpose of their Plan they have assumed that at the end of the war or shortly thereafter a National Government will come into existence in India at the Centre, invested with full freedom in economic matters.

Concerning this first assumption I wish to say very little, except to submit that the word "assumption" is used in its mathematical sense, rather as Euclid uses it. The authors, I consider, have not assumed that India's political problems will inevitably be solved, and that therefore nothing more need be done on that head. It is simply that, as a prerequisite for any planning, they must assume such conditions to exist. In other words, they have implied at the outset of their plan that India's political problem must be solved, and that she must have a Government built upon popular support and popular confidence before her economic problems can be successfully tackled.

RAISING THE STANDARD OF LIVING

The next assumption that they have made is that the purpose of national planning should be to raise the standard of living of the people. On this there must be a wide measure of agreement. We are becoming accustomed to the idea that every man, as a matter of absolute right, is entitled to adequate food, adequate clothes, adequate housing, and adequate medical attention. It is in line with this new trend of thought that the authors have stated that their modest aim is to secure for India a general standard of living in which every man will obtain these minimum requirements of human life. The foundation of their scheme is thus not to be found in any doctrinaire political philosophy, but in a purely humanitarian and ethical ideal.

Briefly they have defined these requirements as comprising a diet of 2,800 calories a day, 30 yards of clothing per year, and about 100 square feet of house room per person. Beyond these purely physical necessities the authors have laid it down that there should be provision for education and adequate preventative and curative measures to safeguard public health.

The first major criticism raised against the Plan in this country was that it was too grandiose. Let us consider this criticism in relation to the aims. First, on the question of food. The diet shown in the Plan as the goal to be reached consists of vegetables and cereals, together with amounts of sugar and fats very slightly in excess of the British war-time rationing. Meat, fish or eggs are only included as an alternative to milk. The diet allows for 8 ozs. of milk a day (say half a pint) or, as an alternative, 2-3 ozs. of meat, fish or eggs. Thus the diet proposed, so far as the animal protein foods are concerned, is by no means an ambitious one, and compares

unfavourably with the standard which has been accepted in this country as a temporary war-time minimum, barely enough to maintain health and working efficiency.

Similarly on the question of housing the standard suggested of 100 square feet of room per person is by no means an unreasonable one. Think of what it means in everyday terms. Families of five persons would have to live in two rooms of about 15 feet by 16 feet, or in four rooms having an average size of 12 feet 6 inches by 10 feet each. I lay some stress on these figures not in order to criticize the authors of the Plan, but to bring home to you their strictly realistic attitude, and to show that the whole plan is based on genuine minimum requirements which (if we pay more than lip-service to the idea that freedom from want is one of the rights of man) must be accepted as the barest human essentials. There is nothing in the least extravagant or grandiose about the aims of the Plan.

However, I anticipate here a criticism that may be made—the old saying, either criminally stupid or criminally cynical, that the Eastern races require less of the material things of life than the Western races (the old “handful of rice” idea). It is true that their rights have been submerged in overwhelming poverty for years and that the opportunity to enjoy the bare essentials has long been denied to them. But to suggest that this is because their actual needs are less than those of the Western races is either blindness or naïveté of the worst kind.

Let me remind you that the average expectation of life in India is twenty-seven years as against some sixty years in this country. These figures speak for themselves and show how utterly inadequate are the present diet, housing conditions and medical services in India.

WAYS AND MEANS

The basis of these minimum requirements having been accepted, as it must be by all men of goodwill, the problem becomes one of ways and means entirely. And let me make this clear. If a certain end is desirable, then ways and means must be sought. But if a certain end is proved to be a matter of right, then ways and means must not only be sought, but found. On this question of ways and means, however, there are bound to be differences of opinion. In fact, it is the authors' hope that the Plan will be the basis for lively discussion, and it is not their intention that it should be swallowed whole without due consideration. Personally, I imagine that they would be prepared to accept constructive suggestions of all kinds and to modify in detail the proposals that they have made.

In discussing the financial implications, the authors make it clear that they are using money merely as a convenient way of expressing the quantities of goods and services that would be required to bring their plan into operation. The figures given by them are given in that sense only, and are not to be taken as final estimates nor as rigidly fixed amounts to be expended. Bearing this in mind, we can consider the main financial proposals. It is that a sum of approximately £7,500 millions should be expended by India in fifteen years. India's population, in round numbers, is in the neighbourhood of 400 millions. Thus the amount to be spent per head of the population works out to between £18 and £19. This gives an average annual expenditure (the Plan is to take fifteen years) of not more than 25s. per head. If the charge that the scheme is grandiose fails in respect of the aims of the scheme, it surely also fails in respect of the expenditure proposed.

There is one most important point to be made here. This outlay is not current expenditure, but capital expenditure. When considering it, therefore, we should not take into account India's present income or revenue, but rather her resources of capital. I stress this in order to forestall the repetition of a criticism of the Plan that has been raised. Certain critics have divided the sum of £7,500 millions by fifteen, and thus arrived at the average annual expenditure. The resulting figure is £500 millions. The critics then point out the absurdity of expecting India to spend at such a rate when her total revenue from taxes amounts annually to some £300 millions only.

Such criticism, though plausible, is invalid. In the first place, the Plan does not propose that the expenditure should be made at a uniform rate. In the beginning it will be at less than half the average over the whole period—some £210 millions annually. Then, once the results of the first five years come into effect, and once the

material resources of India become more readily available, the tempo of investment will increase, as will the tempo of development. Each year's work will simplify the work of the ensuing years and render the expenditure of greater sums more feasible.

In the second place, I repeat that this expenditure is not of a nature properly to be met out of income. A man may have an income of £300 a year, and it might seem absurd to ask him to subscribe to a new company to the tune of £7,500. But the request would not be absurd if we knew that, apart from income, he had a handsome little sum tucked away in the bank. We could then reasonably expect him (always provided that the prospects of the new company were good) to make the bulk of his payment out of his capital, and arrange to pay any small difference partly out of income and partly by borrowing.

India as a nation is precisely in that position. Her bank account, as represented by sterling balances, is in a healthy condition. Prior to the war she had an overdraft. At the moment she has cleared off her overdraft and has an excellent entry on the credit side of her passbook. She would be foolish if she were to fritter away this balance by including it in her estimates for annual revenue expenditure. She would be wise to invest it carefully and with foresight, so as to raise the level of her income permanently.

INDIVIDUAL INCOMES

Now let us consider how this figure of £7,500 millions has been calculated and how it is related to the aims of the Plan. Having defined the minimum requirements of human life, the authors have shown what the cost of each of these would be, on the basis of pre-war prices. They estimate that an annual individual income of Rs. 74 would be required to cover the bare necessities. That this figure is not an inflated one is best demonstrated by the fact that the cost of food alone (on the basis of the diet mentioned previously) would be some Rs. 65 per head per year, leaving only Rs. 9 per year for all other items. Now, it must be borne in mind that all these figures are averages, and there are bound to be many individual cases where the income is below the average for the whole country. To take care of this factor, and also to provide an income which would leave a modest margin for enjoyment and cultural activities, the authors propose that the average per capita income should be doubled within a period of fifteen years. This would ensure, as far as possible, that all individual incomes would at least reach the level where subsistence is possible.

To achieve this doubling of individual income it is not sufficient merely to double the national dividend. The rapid growth of India's population prevents this. To allow for this increase the national dividend must be trebled in order that it shall not be overtaken by the increase in population. For this to be done it is obviously necessary to effect an expansion and improvement in the productive capacity of India, both agricultural and industrial. The authors, however, go beyond a programme of simple expansion and suggest that the opportunity should be taken to establish a more balanced economy. According to the latest available estimate, agriculture, industry and services contribute 53, 17 and 22 per cent. respectively to the total national income. The authors suggest that India should be so developed as to make these contributions 40, 35 and 20 per cent. respectively.

FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS

Certain critics have suggested that the Plan lays too much stress on industry and ignores the interests of agriculture. It should be remembered, however, that, as the national income is to be trebled, 40 per cent. of the final figure will be considerably greater than 53 per cent. of the original total and that the agricultural capacity of India will be increased by no less than 130 per cent. By so doing, sufficient food would be produced to feed the whole population and remove from India the ever-imminent danger of famine. To achieve this aim the Plan proposes that three fundamental questions should be tackled—namely, size of holdings, rural indebtedness and soil erosion. It suggests that some system of co-operative farming, possibly backed by some measure of compulsion, should be used to remove the disadvantages attaching to the present small size of farms. Similarly, the liquidation of the present agricultural indebtedness (estimated at some £900 millions before the war) should be

effected through the instrument of co-operative societies which should be provided with sufficient long-term finance. A sum of £150 millions would be spent on soil conservation and permanent improvements to land. The authors have advanced statistics to show how low India's agricultural output is at present when compared, on a per-acre basis, with other countries. Although the available waste land which could be brought under cultivation is small, there is thus room for an increase in output by improving the present yield per acre. They suggest that this could be best achieved by means of irrigation, by more advanced methods of farming, and by the use of implements. They suggest that a sum of £300 millions be spent on the construction of canals and about £37½ millions on other forms of irrigation. To provide working capital to finance agricultural operations they suggest a sum of £187½ millions. Including the establishment of model farms, the total sum which they suggest should be devoted to agriculture amounts to £930 millions.

From what has been said earlier it will be appreciated that a far greater amount will have to be spent on industry if the contribution from that source to the national dividend is to be raised from 17 per cent. to 35 per cent. The authors have suggested that industries should be considered under two heads: (1) basic industries and (2) consumption goods industries. While it is stated that basic industries would receive priority over other industries in the earlier years, the claim of the consumer is not overlooked. Precisely because it is desired that a freedom of choice should remain with the man in the street, the exact nature of the consumption goods industries which should be developed will be decided from time to time in the light of variations in demand. As far as is consistent with planning, the authors suggest that the free choice of the consumer in respect of consumption goods should suffer no restrictions from their own experience in industry, and, taking into account the contribution which small-scale and cottage industries could make, the authors estimate a ratio of 2·4 as between industrial capital and net product. On this basis, in order to increase India's industrial output to some £1,680 millions, they suggest that a total sum of £3,360 millions should be expended over the fifteen years.

Although the sum to be expended on industry is greater than that to be spent on agriculture, the country would still be predominantly agricultural, in that only a minority of the population would be engaged in industry.

HOUSING, HEALTH AND EDUCATION

If the products of India's agriculture and industry are to be freely and economically exchanged it is essential that India's communication system of roads, railways, port facilities and civil aviation should be vastly expanded, and the authors, after careful consideration of all factors, suggest an expenditure of £705 millions on this head.

For housing they suggest a sum of £1,650 millions. This figure is based on the minimum requirements set out above of 100 square feet of house room per person.

On public health services the authors suggest an expenditure of £337½ millions. This cost is shared between sanitation and water supply, dispensaries, general hospitals, maternity clinics and specialized institutions for the treatment of tuberculosis, cancer, venereal diseases, mental disorders and so on.

It will be seen that in all these estimates the authors have worked from the particular to the general, and have first estimated the cost of the individual unit, and from an estimate of the total number required have then arrived at their total figures.

On the subject of education the authors have stated that for an adult to be able to read and write and to take an intelligent interest in private and social life is one of the constituents of a minimum standard of living, which they would like to bring within the reach of every individual in the country.

There is a further aspect upon which they touch. Education is one of the most important of the ways and means by which the whole Plan can be achieved. Quite obviously it is only an educated population that could be induced to relinquish ancient and sometimes multifarious traditions, whether it be in agriculture or in industry or in any other direction.

If India's agriculture is to be lifted from its present meagre level, it can only be done by bringing home to the peasant the urgency of introducing new methods. Intensive propaganda, in the best sense of the term, is essential, and this cannot be

done with an illiterate population. Similarly, the industrial worker must be capable of acquiring new knowledge—and again the written word is essential. The power to read broadens the mental horizon, familiarizes man with matters beyond his village, his family and his religion, and is the rock upon which all else must be built.

A nation that can neither read nor write can never fully understand the aims of its Government or have that interest in the activities of Government without which planning is impossible. At the heart of all India's problems lies the ignorance of her people, and until this ignorance is removed progress in the direction indicated by the Plan would not be feasible.

India has a twofold problem in this field: first, adult illiteracy must be abolished; and, second, universal primary education must be introduced in order to ensure the permanent eradication of adult illiteracy. In attacking the problem of adult illiteracy the authors limit themselves to that section of the population between the ages of eleven and fifty. On the basis of experiments that have already been made, the cost of making an adult literate is extremely small, and has been estimated by a British expert at some 6s. per head. This figure would have to be increased in order to broaden the basis of adult education and to include instruction beyond the three R's. The authors estimate a total of £74½ millions for this. It would not be a recurring cost. For universal primary education the authors have estimated a sum of £64½ millions of non-recurring cost and £66 millions of recurring cost. Provision is also made for secondary education, university education and research, and the total to be spent on education of all kinds comes to £367½ millions.

A sum of £150 millions for miscellaneous expenditure has been estimated, and it is in this way that the total figure of £7,500 millions has been established.

GROWTH OF POPULATION

It has been suggested that the chief problem with which India is faced is that of her rapidly increasing population, and that until a solution has been found to this difficulty any reforms in other directions would be fruitless. For my part, I should like to submit that this rapid and embarrassing increase is a function of India's poverty and lack of education. I think it will be agreed that the birth-rate of a country is directly related to its standard of living. We have many indications that as a nation's material standards rise, so her birth-rate drops. This may be due partly to the fact that the very poor have no amusements other than those of the flesh and no interests outside the home. But it is partly due to a compensatory force which we can perceive in nature. When the expectation of life is short, nature appears to safeguard the race by increasing the breeding capacity so as to allow for the anticipated wastage. It is not by chance, for example, that in times of war, when consciously or unconsciously the possibility of death comes home to men, the birth-rate takes a rapid swing upwards. In the same way a people that is hungry and diseased, with a high death-rate, seems always to breed much more rapidly than their more fortunate brothers. Thus it is to be expected that by raising India's standard of living and by removing the dangers of disease and poverty, which at present engulf the Indian family, the birth-rate in India, after an initial increase, will gradually be reduced and reach a more controllable level. But this problem, then, cannot be tackled in an isolated way; it must be attacked at several points at once. Food, housing and education all play a vital part, and all are tackled in the Plan.

I have tried to show you how this figure of £7,500 millions has been reached, and to demonstrate that, translated into concrete terms, it represents the minimum that can be expended if the individual Indian is to participate in the basic rights of man. Earlier I have said that, where rights are concerned, ways and means must not only be sought—they must be found.

HOARDED WEALTH

Let us, then, consider the sources from which this sum could be obtained. The authors suggest that £225 millions could be attracted from India's hoarded wealth. The total amount of this wealth is estimated by them very conservatively at £750 millions, so that the authors' assumption is a modest one. It is possible, with settled political conditions and advance in education and with evidence of success in the

initial years of planning, that a higher proportion would be forthcoming. The authors have been similarly conservative in their estimates of the amount available from India's sterling assets. They have put down a figure of £750 millions which could be utilized for importing the capital goods required at the beginning of the Plan. Here again a more optimistic estimate might with safety be made. Over a period of fifteen years the authors estimate that some £450 millions would be available for foreign purchases from India's favourable balance of trade. The authors have suggested that some £525 millions would be available as loans raised in foreign countries. They have laid it down, naturally, that these loans should not be accompanied by any political influence or by the interference of foreign vested interests.

Taking into account India's low standard of living and that no provision has been made for any increased taxation, the authors suggest that only 6 per cent. of India's total income would be available for investment. This gives a figure of some £3,000 millions.

When all these amounts have been taken into account there is still a gap of £2,550 millions. I would emphasize two points: first, that this is the deficit estimated over the whole period of fifteen years; second, that because the estimates of resources have been made on a conservative basis, the figure of £2,550 millions may be taken as an absolute maximum. To bridge this gap the authors suggest that the money should be created by borrowing against *ad hoc* securities from the Reserve Bank. Here, of course, the criticism that the Plan is inflationary and therefore dangerous is advanced. Nevertheless, the authors assert that there is nothing unsound in creating this money, because it is meant to increase the productive capacity of the nation, and in the long run is of a self-liquidating character. They recognize, moreover, that the existence of this created money may lead to a gap between the volume of purchasing power and the volume of goods available. In order to keep prices within reasonable limits, they envisage rigid controls by the Government for such time as may be necessary over practically every aspect of economic life.

The experience in this country during war-time should encourage us to consider this problem optimistically. That a Government enjoying the full confidence of the people, representing their views, and constituted for the purpose of defending the country's vital interests can exercise such controls, with the full co-operation of the people, has been proved.

There is nothing inherently vicious or dangerous in this policy of created money. How has England bridged the gap between income and expenditure during the war years other than by created money? That it demands a vigilance and far-sightedness on the part of the Government is true, but it is not so dangerous a thing as to justify the rejection of the Plan as a whole.

In effect, created money is a draft upon a country's capital reserves. And a country's capital reserves are her raw material and her labour. India, on this basis, is in a better position to draw such a draft than most countries, particularly if it is done as part of an expansionist policy and is accompanied by an increase in her productive potential.

Money plays the part of a catalyst in the economy of a nation. In its presence materials and man-power may be made to react and produce wealth. If there is a shortage of that catalyst, it can and should be produced—as has been done in this country. Provided the reaction is controlled, and provided the amount of the catalyst introduced bears a proper relationship to the participants of the reaction, there is no danger in the process.

I hope that all these points that I have made will receive fuller attention during the discussion. Time forbids me from making any further points in detail. But let me say this: Do not imagine, because any one aspect of the scheme may seem to call for modification, that the whole is unworkable. It is a strategic, not a tactical, conception. Let us accept the main outlines of the Plan, its aims and its assumption that these aims can only be achieved by a simultaneous attack upon all of India's material ills together, and let us discuss, constructively and freely, how the Plan may be perfected and improved.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held on Tuesday, June 27, 1944, at the rooms of the Royal Society, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W. 1, when Mr. B. Sh. Saklatvala read a paper on "Economic Planning for Post-War India." Sir ALEXANDER AIKMAN, C.I.E., presided.

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing Mr. Saklatvala, said that he was to deal with proposals made by a number of Indian industrialists for the post-war economic development of India. Of those, three were connected with the firm of Tata, which was well known not only in India but throughout the whole world. Although it was best known in the iron and steel world it carried on many other activities. Included in the group were companies which had set up and maintained hydro-electric plants, and others which were foremost in the field of civil aviation in India. These large industries demanded that there should be in this country an organization to deal with their European problems. Mr. Beramji Shahporji Saklatvala was secretary of that organization and was therefore well qualified to speak on the subject he had chosen.

Mr. SAKLATVALA then read his paper.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the discussion, said that the lecturer had referred to the assumption made by the authors of the Plan that the purpose of a national plan should be to raise the standard of living of the people. That being the aim of the Plan, he would suggest that Mr. Saklatvala could not have placed it before a better section of the public than the members of the East India Association, because on the heading of their notepaper were the words, "Founded in 1866, to promote the welfare of the inhabitants of India." There should follow, therefore, a well-informed and sympathetic discussion of the Plan.

The other point to which he wished to refer was contained in the Plan itself. Among the introductory remarks there occurred a paragraph which pointed out that the Plan did not refer to such essential matters as the organization, methods and technique for carrying it out. The authors said that they thought it desirable to put forward their views regarding some of the more fundamental aspects of the Plan in order to stimulate discussion. He mentioned that paragraph, not with a view to limiting discussion, but in order to suggest that it be confined to the "fundamental aspects of the Plan" rather than to detail.

Sir GEOFFREY CLARKE said that Mr. Saklatvala had pointed out that the basis of the scheme was to raise the standard of living in India. The Plan was an ambitious one, but it should not be criticized on that ground because it was a fault on the right side. To him, the Plan was especially interesting because it embodied a really constructive ideal. It gave one something to work on, and although the ideal might not be attainable in the specified fifteen years, it was a great thing to have an object in view and an aim to achieve. He thought that fifteen years was rather a short time in which to educate India and give it a standard of living as described in the Plan; that, however, was a matter for consideration later because the fifteen-year term was not essential to the Plan.

The question of the raising of the standard of living meant in the first place a raising of the status of agriculture. India was a poor country, and before anything could be done the status of agriculture must be raised and given a means of earning more money. One of the greatest difficulties in raising the status of agriculture and enabling it to produce the necessary food was the present form of land tenure which was part and parcel of the Hindu social system. A number of holders not only had their holdings reduced but even had them split up all over the village area. Thus a man sometimes had his land spread in plots at a distance of a mile or more from each other. In such conditions there would be great difficulty in improving agricul-

ture to an appreciable extent. Yet a great improvement was envisaged in the Bombay Plan, and a remedy was proposed. Mr. Saklatvala said that by co-operation they might get combined holdings and have collective farms. That was tried in Russia and it was a success, but it had had to be done by compulsion. Could there be that same compulsion in India? The Indian Government would not have the same power as that of Russia. He was afraid that if one tried to compel Indian peasants to have co-operative farms it would lead to serious agrarian trouble. He had to admit, however, that it was probably the only solution.

Turning to the industrial aspect of the Plan, the lecturer spoke of a balanced economy in India. That meant a balance between agriculture and industry. According to the paper the present figures of contribution to the income of India were 53 per cent. agriculture, 17 per cent. industry and 22 per cent. services. Mr. Saklatvala would alter that balance to 40 per cent., 35 per cent. and 20 per cent. respectively. In India, where there was a very large proportion of agriculture, in the speaker's opinion agriculture would have to make more than a 40 per cent. contribution. That, however, was a matter for consideration.

There was also the question of industrial expansion. The expansion of industry was not altogether an unmixed benefit. The world was now full of workshops, and every country was becoming industrialized, and while India might try to balance her economy she must not unbalance the economy of the rest of the world. The Atlantic Charter said that there must be a balanced economy throughout the world. The danger of such an intensified industrialization was that there was apt to be created a large number of industries not suitable for the country concerned. He mentioned that point because the expansion of industry in India might upset the balance of economy of the world. A high proportion of industry was not necessarily good for every country; it was a danger because the industrialization of a country produced the possibility of slumps and depressions in industry, and an industrial depression was far worse than an agricultural one. There had already been an example of that in Calcutta.

It seemed to him that one must hurry slowly. He agreed that there was room for industrial expansion, and much could be done for India in that way. He thought that any future expansion should be done with British co-operation and assistance. Britain could help India to establish her industries with capital, goods and technical advice. For that reason he, and many of his fellow-members, welcomed the Bombay Plan. It naturally required modification, but the scheme was a good one, and by making India a prosperous country Britain would be helping herself because her best markets were in prosperous countries. He therefore whole-heartedly supported the Plan, and he thought that we should give it our blessing and do everything possible to encourage it.

SIR HARI SINGH GOUR said that what he thought the scheme would give India was modern life, and that was what she wanted. India wanted to be modernized, and for that purpose she needed industrialization of the country and an industrialized agriculture. They had already been told that owing to certain factors farming in India was uneconomic, and with the present system of land tenure it became doubly so. To do away with that traditional system of partition which gave the people an unequal share of land had been attempted by the Indian Legislative Assembly, but that body had been unable to do what its members wanted. When India obtained a national Government he thought that such matters would be among the first things which it would deal with. The laws of India were 3,000 years old and some people had been trying to improve them, and, taken as a whole, those laws required to be modernized. He felt certain that, given education, industrialization and sufficient food, the India of tomorrow would be very different from that of today. He was in whole-hearted agreement with the Bombay Plan.

SIR FRANK NOYCE said that the sponsors of the Bombay Plan and the lecturer in his able exposition of it had made it clear that the Plan had been put forward as a basis for discussion. He felt sure, therefore, that they would realize that any criticisms he and other speakers put forward were being made in a constructive spirit.

He confessed that, whilst he was in complete sympathy with the objects of the Plan, there were certain aspects of it that he did not like. He could not help feeling that its authors had not taken the human factor sufficiently into account, yet it was a consideration which, in India, more perhaps than in almost any other country, could not be overlooked. The basis of his criticism of the Plan on this point was the admission by its authors that, during the greater part of the period of planning, there must be such rigorous control of every aspect of economic life that individual liberty and freedom of enterprise would suffer a temporary eclipse. He wondered how human nature in India would react to that measure of regimentation. Take one small example. In one of the early sections of the Plan it was proposed to have a doctor in every village. That could only be done by compulsion. He hoped that those who would be responsible for providing the doctors would have more success than the Government of Madras had when they offered subsidies to graduates from medical colleges to get them to go to the villages.

As regards the question of co-operative or collective farms, there was no doubt that the authors of the Plan were right in regarding the subdivision and fragmentation of holdings as the greatest curse of Indian agriculture. It was not easy to see how to solve the problem it presented. It had only been solved in Russia by a great deal of suffering and misery. In fact, there was no aspect of Russia's Five-Year Plan which had produced greater misery. He would be sorry to see similar measures of compulsion applied in India.

He was in entire agreement with the authors of the Plan in regard to the seriousness of the problem of soil erosion, and was glad to have their support of his own view that, of the 94 million acres of land classed as "cultivable waste," only a small extent was really cultivable. He thought, however, that they were over-optimistic about the prospects of any large increase in the area under irrigation. They had pointed out that, of the 209 million acres of land under cultivation in British India, only 54 million acres were irrigated, 28 million under canals and 26 million from other sources, and estimated the increase required in this at 200 per cent. No one could possibly dispute the desirability of increasing the area under irrigation to the utmost possible extent, but it had fallen to his lot to investigate the possibilities of further irrigation in India on three occasions, and he could assure the authors that there was not the smallest hope of finding another 108 million acres in British India which could be irrigated. Where were the rivers from which the irrigation was to be drawn and where were the sites for building the expensive dams mentioned in the Plan? He gave detailed reasons for thinking that there was comparatively little scope left for an extension of irrigation in India, and that the authors of the Plan would be very lucky if they obtained an increase of as much as 20 per cent. in the area at present irrigated. It seemed to him that the balance of the Plan must be upset by that consideration.

There was one respect in which he found the Plan disappointing. It contained no reference to sickness and unemployment insurance or to old age pensions. He thought that the ideal at which the Plan aimed could not be achieved unless expenditure under those heads was included in it. He felt sure that a very large section of the adult population of India would greatly prefer provision in these respects to being sent to school again, though he did not wish to minimize the importance of adult education.

He hoped it would not be long before a meeting of the Association could be convened to discuss the methods of carrying out the Plan, for it was obviously no use formulating a plan unless it could be carried into effect.

M. V. B. KARNIK (Leader of the delegation of the Indian Federation of Labour) said that the mere statement of the object of the Plan did not carry the author very far towards its realization. It was necessary to say how, in actual fact, that object could be attained, and he found no concrete proposals put forward to that end. Consideration of that problem was left open, and unless the measures to be taken to reach the objective were indicated it seemed to him too early to pass judgment upon the Plan.

He was particularly interested in problems of distribution. However vast an

amount of wealth there might be it would be of no use if not equitably distributed. He could not be sure, therefore, whether the Plan would not mean more wealth for the rich rather than a raising of the standard of the whole. The criticism he would offer was that the Plan spoke about increasing production and national wealth, and he feared that that increase of wealth would be directed towards the élite only. He thought the Plan was attempting to make the rich richer and the poor poorer.

Another difficulty was the problem of markets. A number of important industries in India had a large amount of capital and a good supply of labour and yet were faced with the difficulty that there were no markets for their goods. It was no use producing more and more goods if there was no market for them. The Plan lost sight of this most essential point.

The most important economic problem in India was the problem of agriculture. Those interested in the development of industry must tackle the agricultural problem, and that could only be solved by solving the land tenure problem. So long as the peasant could not have an interest in the land the system would not work, and it would be impossible to obtain a good level of production. The most essential point—a change in the laws of land ownership—had not been tackled in the Bombay Plan. Unless the peasants were given back their land and parasitic landlordism was liquidated it would not be possible to develop industry. The Plan prepared by the Indian Federation of Labour did take into consideration all those problems.

Sir STANLEY REED said the authors were to be congratulated on the production of a complete Plan, embracing the industrial development of India as a whole, instead of piecemeal, and H.E. the Viceroy on having appointed Sir Ardeshir Dalal to a seat on the Executive Council to work out details. The point in the lecture which arrested him was the 2,800 calories a day envisaged by the lecturer; where were they to come from? The increase in the food supply of India was the crux of the problem. It demanded an agricultural policy of boldness and vision. For instance, more than a quarter of a century ago figures were produced at an economic conference claiming that by the consolidation of holdings in the ryotwari tracts the produce of the soil could be doubled without any addition to the capital and labour involved. He did not think it fair to the authors of the Plan to say that it would put money into the pockets of the rich man. If those who held this view were income-tax and surtax payers in Britain they would have no doubt of the means whereby a strong Government could diffuse the wealth created throughout the whole community.

Wing-Commander GRANT FERRIS, M.P., said that he entirely agreed with those speakers who said that the only way to make the Plan a success was to improve agriculture. Agriculture must be made efficient and must be developed in every way before the Plan could be made effective. He thought that too little attention was paid to that, and he hoped that when Lord Wavell's proposals were made known that problem would be in the foreground.

Mr. DAVID S. ERULKAR said that he was not in agreement with the point made by Sir Geoffrey Clarke that industrialization of India would disturb the balance of world economy. In the nineteenth century with the industrialization of England, she became the workshop of the world. Later, when the countries of Continental Europe began to be industrialized, fears were expressed by certain sections in this country that the industrialization of other European countries would seriously prejudice England's interests in European markets. But those fears were not found to be justified. In the same way when the United States of America started on a policy of industrialization, the interests concerned in the previously industrialized countries of Europe were alarmed that the world economy would be disturbed thereby. Those fears also did not materialize. The reason was just that by the process of transition from agricultural to industrial economy increased purchasing power of the workers was created and set in motion, with the result that such increased purchasing power actually exceeded the capacity of the newly established domestic industries to cater for it, and consequently a growing demand was created for larger imports from the more advanced and older industrialized countries of the world. This had been proved in

the past, and he was sure that if the great potential of India could be materialized into effective consumers of world products it would be found that the world economy would be disturbed only temporarily, but would ultimately adjust itself to a healthier level, to the mutual benefit of India and even the older industrialized countries of the world.

Sir T. GAVIN JONES said that no one would oppose the aims of the Bombay Plan, but he rather agreed with the writer of an article in the *Economist* of June 17 last which said that the Bombay Plan was not so much a plan as an agenda for discussion. The Plan, as far as ways and means were concerned, required greater consideration. In fact it was not a practical plan.

There were two points in the Plan which he thought were faulty. The Plan was based on the fact that produced and increased income would pay for the expenditure, but one-third of the expenditure was to be for the purpose of education, housing and health, all of which would be recurring expenses. There would be no income from those. Also, no consideration was given to a rise in prices. Those were only two points among many, and the plan as stated meant severe inflation.

The main point, however, was that apparently a lower expenditure was to go to agriculture than to industry (48.4 per cent. on industry as against 12.6 per cent. on agriculture). He maintained that first consideration should be given to agriculture, and no agricultural scheme could succeed with the present land tenure system. The whole matter required thorough consideration, and he stressed the point that agriculture should be given precedence.

Mr. B. SH. SAKLATVALA, in reply, said that he was gratified by the fact that constructive contributions had been made rather than destructive criticisms, and that the idea of a plan had been accepted.

He felt, however, that he would have to touch on political details, because the main trends of the discussion seemed to centre there. It had been pointed out by a labour representative that the distribution of wealth was the prime consideration. The speakers who had touched on the subject of agriculture had pointed out that the land tenure system was the most important factor in the question of size of holdings. He thought that both these problems were definitely tied up with the question of the relationship between Government, the planning authority, and the people. When it came to such questions as laws and customs governing land tenure, the first assumption of the authors came into prominence—namely, that a prerequisite of the Plan was a Government enjoying the confidence of the people. Similarly, on the question of the distribution of wealth, and on the problem of compelling the peasant to accept co-operative farming, the answer lay in the direction of strong representational institutions. Provided these were maintained, they would serve as a safeguard against the abuse of power. A Government was perhaps not influenced by the election which put it into power. But it was certainly influenced by the thought of the next election. In this way representative institutions were a safeguard against exploitation.

Lastly, he agreed that the plan was an agenda, in that it was a list of things which were meet to be done, and did not attempt to show detailed methods and technique. It had already partly served its purpose in that it had stimulated a valuable discussion. It was discussions such as this which would help its authors to turn the agenda into a programme, a scheme, and a blueprint.

On the motion of Sir THOMAS SMITH, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the lecturer for his paper and to the Chairman for presiding.

Mr. R. MATHER writes: The Plan should be heartily welcomed as providing India with a tangible objective for its national endeavour and one which should attract the widest support within the country. The authors recognize that success will depend essentially on India's own efforts, but to the extent to which there was some scope, and perhaps even need, for help from Britain that help ought to be readily provided.

It may be taken that such criticism as has arisen in this country was best formu-

lated by the *Economist* in its article of June 17. The article almost inevitably deprecates the dependence on "created money." Yet there is no reason to fear that, if India developed under this Plan, it would have any greater difficulty in dealing with this problem than Britain or the United States will have in dealing with their own "creation" of money on a much larger scale purely for war purposes.

The *Economist* questions the practicability of the Plan, but does so as though it were writing in 1924 instead of in 1944. By its standards it could plausibly be shown that Russia could not practically do what we now know it has done in the last twenty years; that Japan could not do what we know it has done in the same period; that Germany could not do what it did between 1933 and 1939; that Britain could not do what it has done since 1940; and that the United States could not do what it has done since 1941. If the *Economist* were alive to the full significance of what has been happening in the world in the last decade or two it would hardly be so rash as to set low limits on the development capacity of any nation which has ample man-power and materials, and which can produce among its people, either by compulsion or persuasion (fortunately we have examples of the latter), a determination to achieve an unexpectedly high degree of production. If the authors of the Plan can generate widespread enthusiasm for their aims, they will succeed.

Another cause of uneasiness to the *Economist* is the lack of a detailed statistical basis for some or many of the estimates in the Plan. The present writer shares the *Economist's* appreciation of the value of an adequate statistical foundation on which to build. But he does not share the fallacy that where unquestionable statistics cannot be readily produced there is no real foundation on which to build. The reality is the same whether statistics have been neatly and conveniently compiled or not. And the authors of the Plan are much better qualified by experience to assess the value and reality of their basis than those who have no alternative but to ask for statistics to be presented to them. Does the *Economist* realize to how small an extent the productive development of Britain, the United States and Western industrial countries in general has depended on even a moderately good statistical basis?

That there are many difficulties and some uncertainties to be faced the authors of the Plan obviously realize. The importance of their proposals lies in their grasp of the facts that ample man-power and materials exist in India and that a determined people can do much which a generation ago might have seemed purely "wishful thinking." It is for them to develop that determination among the people of India and for us to wish them well and to help where we can.

WITH THE INDIAN SOLDIER TODAY

By MAJOR F. YEATS-BROWN, D.F.C.

IN speaking to such a distinguished audience, there is fortunately much that I can leave unsaid. You know as much as I do—some of you much more—about the administration of the Indian Army, and how it has been raised and equipped during these war years. I shall avoid statistics, therefore, and try to tell you about the soldier himself, as I have seen him during an eight months' tour of India and the fighting fronts.

Has the Indian Army changed much as a result of the war? That is the first question I wanted to answer when I arrived in India last September. My conclusion is that fundamentally the soldier is the same stout-hearted peasant whom I first knew forty years ago, but that war has changed, and that he has changed with it.

On the whole, he is adapting himself with astonishing speed to mechanization: driving, maintenance, all the elaborate system of intercommunication that modern war requires.

I want you to see the Indian soldier at work, in action. So I am taking you over to Burma; by bomber over the plains of Bengal, and over the Himalayas to Imphal, and on from Imphal by jeep along the road to Tamu, and beyond there to the furthest point I reached on my trip, to a camp overlooking the Chindwin Valley. Just at present the place is in Japanese hands, but I expect we shall soon be fighting there again, and, anyway, one part of the Imphal front is much like another.

Along this Imphal-Tamu-Chindwin road there are thousands and thousands of vehicles, mostly driven by Indian drivers. A year or two ago these lads were twisting a bullock's tail. Now they are at the steering wheel of a three-ton truck, negotiating hairpin bends on a mountain track for ten or twelve hours at a stretch, often at night, and sometimes under fire, and always in clouds of dust—dust which is a soft white powder here—sometimes a red powder—worse than anything in the western desert.

Some of them are good drivers, and others not so good. But considering how little tradition of the machine exists in India, it is a miracle—nothing less—how well and eagerly the youth of the country has taken to mechanization and technical trades.

All over India I have seen these boys at work, aircraftsmen, drivers, engineers, road builders, and so on, who are going to be invaluable to the national life when peace comes, and who are invaluable now, handling every sort of instrument of war, from a truck to a telephone, and from a bull-dozer to a dive bomber.

Sir Firoz Khan Noon, in a recent address to the Association, gave some figures which indicate the number of technicians in the Indian Services. Making a guess at a grand total, I should say that half a million men are drivers, fitters, aircraftsmen or naval ratings in the engineering branch. These men are doing a grand job now, and you may imagine how invaluable they will be to the national life when peace comes and their various skills are turned to construction instead of destruction.

A GURKHA CAMP

Now we have arrived at the heights overlooking the Chindwin Valley. It is a Gurkha camp we are visiting, and of course it is impossible to speak of this front without mentioning the Gurkhas. They are everywhere ubiquitous, though generally invisible.

We are in a thick forest, on a mountain-side overlooking the Chindwin River. The enemy is on the east bank, and we are on the western heights; at battalion headquarters. There must at least be five or six hundred riflemen all round us, but there might be only a platoon for all we can see of them.

An orderly takes me to a bamboo hut, and brings me a half-basin of water. Water is a great luxury, for it has to be brought up on mule-back from two miles away. After washing off the dust of the Imphal road I am taken by the orderly (for otherwise I should never find my way) to a bamboo mess tent, to dine with the officers at a bamboo table. The Gurkhas are past-masters in making huts, beds and tables with their *kukries*. Within a few hours of reaching camp they have cut down the necessary number of bamboos, built themselves everything they want, and then vanished into the jungle. Everything is hidden, men, ammunition, food, equipment: and unless you know your way about you would imagine you were in virgin forest.

That night I lay on my bamboo bed and listened to a sound like rain, and the distant barking of deer. The jungle is full of game, as well as of insects; elephants, bear, tiger, wild boar, and the wild ancestors of our English hen. Also of Japanese.

Presently I got up, to find out if it was really raining. It wasn't, but the dew was so heavy that drops of water hung on each leaf and shrub. They told me afterwards that the sound I had heard was the rustling of the leaves of the teak trees; it sounds exactly like a heavy shower. Presently I woke with a start, wondering whether the Japs were attacking, for riflemen were moving swiftly and stealthily into their slit trenches. But it was only the stand-to, carried out in absolute silence, an hour before dawn.

And there below me was the Chindwin Valley, and a streak of white mist shining in the full moon. The river was invisible under the mist, and the Colonel told me that patrols from both sides were always able to return from the night's work under

its cover. His men had already reported that the enemy were massing for the attack on Imphal, which was launched a few days later.

After breakfast I was taken round the defences: a series of strong-points and sentry-posts, cunningly designed to support each other, and guarded by wicked-looking hedges of bamboo spikes. I should hate to have to attack the Gurkhas, and the Japanese soon discovered how tough they were, for during the withdrawal to Imphal this battalion was mentioned in the newspapers as having killed an exceptionally large number of the enemy.

Sometimes I think we take the Gurkhas too much for granted. I can't give you the exact figure, but I believe that there are some 40,000 of them in our ranks today, and, in addition, the Prime Minister of Nepal has sent some 8,000 of his own troops to India. We should remember with gratitude and admiration what this small mountain kingdom has done for the Allied cause.

I think the best tribute to the Gurkhas comes from Professor R. L. Turner, the distinguished scholar, who used to be Adjutant of the 3rd Gurkhas: "Bravest of the brave, most generous of the generous, never had a country more faithful friends than you."

ON THE ROAD

On my way back to Tamu I passed some twenty elephants, building a road-bridge. There are hundreds of them working in the Tamu Valley, but my conscience won't allow me, when I have so much to say about soldiers, to speak in detail about these intelligent animals; just one thing, however, may be said—the elephants, as far as I know, are still there, waiting for their mahouts to come back. When we made a similar withdrawal in 1942 they were turned loose in the jungle, and left to shift for themselves, which they are well able to do. The Japanese couldn't catch them, because they will only come when they are called by their own masters.

Tamu is one of the most unpleasant places in the world, hot, unhealthy, full of snakes, and inches deep in dust when it isn't a quagmire of mud. Also, the mosquitoes must be seen to be believed. The Japanese must be enjoying them now; the native variety and our Mosquitoes.

I lunched in Tamu with the 1st Patiala Regiment. The men are all 5 feet 11 inches, or over; the finest lot of Sikhs I have ever seen. I may here mention that they are commanded by a veteran leader who has won great renown in this campaign, and who can still march forty miles with his men in twenty-four hours, though he is nearer sixty than fifty.

I met several other units from the Indian State Forces, both on the Burma and Italian fronts; and I wish I had time to tell you of the great contribution to the war made by the Rulers of the Indian States, but it would require a lecture by itself. They came forward splendidly in the last war, and it has been the same today. It is a page in the history of the British Empire which future generations will read with great pride.

Before leaving Tamu I also visited a Madras battalion. You will agree that the standard set by a crack battalion of Gurkhas and a crack battalion of Sikhs is pretty high. Well, these Madrassis, who have been raised since the war, are smart by any standard. I don't want to use too many superlatives, or to repeat what their enthusiastic Colonel said about them, but I can say this, that everyone in the Indian Army who is in a position to know will tell you that the Madrassi is a good fighting man, not only in the famous Madras Sappers and Miners, but in the infantry, and in pioneer and labour units everywhere. At the Ngekyedauk Pass in Arakan, in February of this year, when a division was surrounded by the Japanese, and isolated on the wrong side of the pass, the Madras pioneers fought like tigers.

INDIAN AIRMEN

Now let's take a quick look at the Arakan, flying over from Army Headquarters with the morning paper, the excellent SEAC, which has done so much to make British troops feel they are not forgotten at home. We land somewhere south of Chittagong, at the aerodrome of a Hurricane Recce Squadron—known as a Tac R. Squadron—entirely composed of Indian pilots and aircraftsmen, and commanded by

a burly young giant of a Sikh, Squadron Leader Mehar Singh. He was given the D.S.O. the other day for his daring reconnaissances over this difficult country. If you had flown, as I have, over that vast tangle of trees and mountains, without a single distinguishing feature for miles, I am sure you would agree that anyone who can find his way about, let alone spot Japanese troop movements, deserves a decoration.

There were forty Indian pilots in the R.A.F. during the Battle of Britain. Most of them are now back in India with squadrons manned and officered entirely by Indians. One of them is Flight-Lieutenant Sukthanker, who holds the coveted Path FINDER Badge as well as the D.F.C. How many of us know that it was this young Mahratta Brahmin from Bombay who led some of our great raids last winter over Hamburg, Munich and Berlin?

I would also like you to meet Wing-Commander Suboto Mukerji at Kohat, which is an important sector of the air defence of the North-West Frontier. Mukerji is, of course, a Bengali. He commands the units of the I.A.F. there; in all about 50 officers (British as well as Indian) and about 1,000 aircraftsmen.

He took me up from Kohat to Miranshah in his old two-seater Lysander: an exhilarating trip with plenty of fresh air in the observer's seat. The last time I went to Miranshah was thirty-six years ago—before Mukerji was born—and there, in the mess-room of the fort at Miranshah, I found my name in the visitors' book, dated August, 1908. I had tea with the Tochi Scouts, who were still conducting a private war of their own, just as they were when I was young.

We used to think we were pretty quick off the mark after raiders when I was a troop leader in the 17th Cavalry on this North-West Frontier; but Mukerji convinced me that things have speeded up since then.

He pressed a button in his office and a hooter sounded. A party of aircraftsmen doubled out to the aerodrome and started up the duty plane. Simultaneously, the duty pilot came running into the office with map and helmet and goggles. If this had been a real alarm he could have been briefed in a few seconds. Mukerji showed me the indexed maps and the catalogued photographs: all that was needed was to give the pilot whatever information had been received, and suitable maps and photographs.

Off he went. His ground crew were holding his parachute harness ready. The engine was warmed up. Within three minutes of the alarm sounding he was airborne. A few minutes later he might have been reporting the movements of raiders on his radio-phone, or shooting them up.

Well, we have travelled in rather a breathless fashion from the borders of Burma to the borders of Afghanistan. Now we must retrace our steps more slowly. First to a parachute jumping school, somewhere in the Punjab. Indian paratroops are going to loom large on the horizon of the war, and I would like to tell you something about them; for obvious reasons I can't say very much.

Here we are, in a big transport plane, with twenty young Jats, each with his parachute and crash-helmet. They are bubbling with high spirits, laughing and joking, and shouting their battle-cry: "*Hanuman ji ki jai!*" The laden plane drones off, and presently—about half an hour later—the pilot switches on a red light, and the jump-master gives the order "Prepare for Action." Our target lies ahead: a white circle in an open field.

The men form line along one side of the plane, and hook up their parachutes. The door opens, and the leader, a havildar, makes ready to jump. You know what happens. Lots of our troops have jumped of late. But think of the gulf that separates a Punjabi peasant, worshipping the great god Hanuman, with his monkey's face, and this scene of parachutists in their harness, carrying all the latest weapons of war, and about to hurl themselves into space. There they go: a group of white parasols, swaying and swinging in the sunlight. You who know India and the Indian village will realize how time is marching on, and what changes must come over the land.

THE TRAINING CENTRES

Let us return to the infantry, however, for, after all, it is the P.B.I. that wins battles. I saw many Training Centres in India, and found assault courses and battle-inoculation courses being run much as they are at home, but of course under far

greater difficulties, when one remembers how much an Indian recruit has to learn which an English boy knows already. Take language. Sometimes he can't speak Urdu, and must learn that before he can be taught much else. And often he must even learn how to wear a pair of boots, having always worn sandals before.

Then there are the obvious difficulties of staff, when expanding an army of 160,000 men into an army of 2,000,000. It was the same in the last war, but there were 1,000,000 volunteers then, instead of 2,000,000. It has been difficult enough to find instructors, but India was also short of equipment, for she came low on the priority list when there were so many other desperate needs to be supplied in Egypt, Russia and in Britain itself. I need not labour these points; and I am sure you will agree that we ought to be very, very grateful to the men who wrestled with this gigantic task on the spot, training hundreds of thousands of boys in the heat and dust of the Indian plains, when they must have been longing to be at the front. They will have contributed to the victory just as much as the men who fought the battles.

Here I should like to answer a question which an American friend put me. He said he had met some of our recruits in the Indian Army and he thought them a fine bunch. "But why aren't there more of them?" he asked. "You say 2,000,000 is a great number of volunteers. All right. Granted it is the biggest volunteer army ever raised; still I ask why you shouldn't get 4,000,000 or even 8,000,000 soldiers out of India's population of nearly 400,000,000?"

Well, to begin with, the intake of volunteers must be conditioned by the numbers we can equip and supply. But there's also another reason. India would starve if her people were mobilized for total war. You couldn't take many more men off the land without ruin, because she is not yet a mechanized nation.

But she is becoming a more mechanized nation, as I have already said. I wish you could have seen an Indian Armoured Corps recruiting team, which was touring the Jullundur District only a few months ago. It was a sort of travelling circus of tanks, to accustom the people of India—particularly the yeomen who used to send their sons into Indian Cavalry regiments—to the idea that the days of cavalry are past, and that now they must become armoured-fighting-vehicle-minded.

The enthusiasm was immense. About five thousand people had come from all the near-by villages. There were three tanks in the display, also a couple of armoured cars, and two carriers. When I arrived an I.A.C. havildar was lecturing the crowd on the points of a Stuart: its weight, how much it cost, and so on. It seemed to me a bit technical, but evidently the people liked it, for they were listening with great attention.

There were some women there too, in a group by themselves, a hundred yards off, listening to a woman lecturer. They made a brilliant patch of colour in their saris. It was a strange scene, if you come to think of it: this crowd of women—Jatnis and Rajputnis and Sikhs and Muslims—all swarming round a large tank.

These Punjabi girls and matrons asked the most intelligent questions about the speed and fire-power of tanks. They wanted to know everything about the vehicles in which their relations were going to fight. And the lecturers—two Muslim ladies who had volunteered for the job, and who had been touring with the team all through the cold weather—answered all questions pat. There was nothing about fighting vehicles they didn't know.

BOYS' TRAINING BATTALION

Before we leave India I must mention another novel feature in Army life, and that is the rise and growth of Boys' Training Battalions. Every Training Centre has one, including the artillery and engineers. The boys, fifteen- to sixteen-year-olds, are paid Rs. 10 a month. They get Army rations and extra milk and an excellent education. By the time they reach military age they have filled out into smart young soldiers, and after a two-months' course at their Training Centre they can generally be drafted straight to a unit in a Training Division. I am sure these Boys Battalions are not only valuable in war, but a wonderful school for citizenship.

Boxing has become very popular among the boys. In my day people would have held up their hands in horror at the idea of letting, say, a Sikh fight a Muslim. Nowadays the lads of all three creeds hit each other just as hard as if they were all

a burly young giant of a Sikh, Squadron Leader Mehar Singh. He was given the D.S.O. the other day for his daring reconnaissances over this difficult country. If you had flown, as I have, over that vast tangle of trees and mountains, without a single distinguishing feature for miles, I am sure you would agree that anyone who can find his way about, let alone spot Japanese troop movements, deserves a decoration.

There were forty Indian pilots in the R.A.F. during the Battle of Britain. Most of them are now back in India with squadrons manned and officered entirely by Indians. One of them is Flight-Lieutenant Sukthanker, who holds the coveted Path Finder Badge as well as the D.F.C. How many of us know that it was this young Mahratta Brahmin from Bombay who led some of our great raids last winter over Hamburg, Munich and Berlin?

I would also like you to meet Wing-Commander Suboto Mukerji at Kohat, which is an important sector of the air defence of the North-West Frontier. Mukerji is, of course, a Bengali. He commands the units of the I.A.F. there; in all about 50 officers (British as well as Indian) and about 1,000 aircraftsmen.

He took me up from Kohat to Miranshah in his old two-seater Lysander: an exhilarating trip with plenty of fresh air in the observer's seat. The last time I went to Miranshah was thirty-six years ago—before Mukerji was born—and there, in the mess-room of the fort at Miranshah, I found my name in the visitors' book, dated August, 1908. I had tea with the Tochi Scouts, who were still conducting a private war of their own, just as they were when I was young.

We used to think we were pretty quick off the mark after raiders when I was a troop leader in the 17th Cavalry on this North-West Frontier; but Mukerji convinced me that things have speeded up since then.

He pressed a button in his office and a hooter sounded. A party of aircraftsmen doubled out to the aerodrome and started up the duty plane. Simultaneously, the duty pilot came running into the office with map and helmet and goggles. If this had been a real alarm he could have been briefed in a few seconds. Mukerji showed me the indexed maps and the catalogued photographs: all that was needed was to give the pilot whatever information had been received, and suitable maps and photographs.

Off he went. His ground crew were holding his parachute harness ready. The engine was warmed up. Within three minutes of the alarm sounding he was airborne. A few minutes later he might have been reporting the movements of raiders on his radio-phonc, or shooting them up.

Well, we have travelled in rather a breathless fashion from the borders of Burma to the borders of Afghanistan. Now we must retrace our steps more slowly. First to a parachute jumping school, somewhere in the Punjab. Indian paratroops are going to loom large on the horizon of the war, and I would like to tell you something about them; for obvious reasons I can't say very much.

Here we are, in a big transport plane, with twenty young Jats, each with his parachute and crash-helmet. They are bubbling with high spirits, laughing and joking, and shouting their battle-cry: "*Hanuman ji ki jai!*" The laden plane drones off, and presently—about half an hour later—the pilot switches on a red light, and the jump-master gives the order "Prepare for Action." Our target lies ahead: a white circle in an open field.

The men form line along one side of the plane, and hook up their parachutes. The door opens, and the leader, a havildar, makes ready to jump. You know what happens. Lots of our troops have jumped of late. But think of the gulf that separates a Punjabi peasant, worshipping the great god Hanuman, with his monkey's face, and this scene of parachutists in their harness, carrying all the latest weapons of war, and about to hurl themselves into space. There they go: a group of white parasols, swaying and swinging in the sunlight. You who know India and the Indian village will realize how time is marching on, and what changes must come over the land.

THE TRAINING CENTRES

Let us return to the infantry, however, for, after all, it is the P.B.I. that wins battles. I saw many Training Centres in India, and found assault courses and battle-inoculation courses being run much as they are at home, but of course under far

greater difficulties, when one remembers how much an Indian recruit has to learn which an English boy knows already. Take language. Sometimes he can't speak Urdu, and must learn that before he can be taught much else. And often he must even learn how to wear a pair of boots, having always worn sandals before.

Then there are the obvious difficulties of staff, when expanding an army of 160,000 men into an army of 2,000,000. It was the same in the last war, but there were 1,000,000 volunteers then, instead of 2,000,000. It has been difficult enough to find instructors, but India was also short of equipment, for she came low on the priority list when there were so many other desperate needs to be supplied in Egypt, Russia and in Britain itself. I need not labour these points; and I am sure you will agree that we ought to be very, very grateful to the men who wrestled with this gigantic task on the spot, training hundreds of thousands of boys in the heat and dust of the Indian plains, when they must have been longing to be at the front. They will have contributed to the victory just as much as the men who fought the battles.

Here I should like to answer a question which an American friend put me. He said he had met some of our recruits in the Indian Army and he thought them a fine bunch. "But why aren't there more of them?" he asked. "You say 2,000,000 is a great number of volunteers. All right. Granted it is the biggest volunteer army ever raised; still I ask why you shouldn't get 4,000,000 or even 8,000,000 soldiers out of India's population of nearly 400,000,000?"

Well, to begin with, the intake of volunteers must be conditioned by the numbers we can equip and supply. But there's also another reason. India would starve if her people were mobilized for total war. You couldn't take many more men off the land without ruin, because she is not yet a mechanized nation.

But she is becoming a more mechanized nation, as I have already said. I wish you could have seen an Indian Armoured Corps recruiting team, which was touring the Jullundur District only a few months ago. It was a sort of travelling circus of tanks, to accustom the people of India—particularly the yeomen who used to send their sons into Indian Cavalry regiments—to the idea that the days of cavalry are past, and that now they must become armoured-fighting-vehicle-minded.

The enthusiasm was immense. About five thousand people had come from all the near-by villages. There were three tanks in the display, also a couple of armoured cars, and two carriers. When I arrived an I.A.C. havildar was lecturing the crowd on the points of a Stuart: its weight, how much it cost, and so on. It seemed to me a bit technical, but evidently the people liked it, for they were listening with great attention.

There were some women there too, in a group by themselves, a hundred yards off, listening to a woman lecturer. They made a brilliant patch of colour in their saris. It was a strange scene, if you come to think of it: this crowd of women—Jatnis and Rajputnis and Sikhs and Muslims—all swarming round a large tank.

These Punjabi girls and matrons asked the most intelligent questions about the speed and fire-power of tanks. They wanted to know everything about the vehicles in which their relations were going to fight. And the lecturers—two Muslim ladies who had volunteered for the job, and who had been touring with the team all through the cold weather—answered all questions pat. There was nothing about fighting vehicles they didn't know.

BOYS' TRAINING BATTALION

Before we leave India I must mention another novel feature in Army life, and that is the rise and growth of Boys' Training Battalions. Every Training Centre has one, including the artillery and engineers. The boys, fifteen- to sixteen-year-olds, are paid Rs. 10 a month. They get Army rations and extra milk and an excellent education. By the time they reach military age they have filled out into smart young soldiers, and after a two-months' course at their Training Centre they can generally be drafted straight to a unit in a Training Division. I am sure these Boys Battalions are not only valuable in war, but a wonderful school for citizenship.

Boxing has become very popular among the boys. In my day people would have held up their hands in horror at the idea of letting, say, a Sikh fight a Muslim. Nowadays the lads of all three creeds hit each other just as hard as if they were all

Christians, and no harm is done. In fact, a great deal of good is done. I attended a boys' boxing tournament at Jhelum, at which the Commander-in-Chief was present with his old regiment, and I have never seen better bouts. After the show, at about one o'clock in the morning, General Auchinleck made a speech in Urdu. You should have heard the cheering! There has not been such a popular C-in-C. in India since the days of Lord Birdwood.

WITH THE EIGHTH ARMY

Now we must get into our plane again—and, by the way, it was an Indian pilot of the Tata Airlines who took me from Peshawar to Delhi—and fly all the long way to Italy.

It was an Indian Division—the 8th Division of the Eighth Army—which was chosen as the spearhead of the attack which took us across the Rapido River on the historic night of May 11-12 and then broke the Gustav Line. I met General Alexander soon afterwards, and he told me how well this division had done, and how highly he thought of the skill, courage and tenacity of the Indian soldier.

This feeling was universal throughout Italy; moreover, the British soldier has taken the Indian to his heart, and *vice versa*, as never before. Of course, Gurkhas and Sikhs have always got on well with British troops. But now the friendship has spread and increased, and it is considered an honour to be brigaded with the Indians. The reason is not far to seek. British troops saw how Indians fought at Sidi Barrani in 1940, and at the grim battle of Keren in 1941, and in the fluctuating struggles in the western desert, culminating in the victories of El Alamein, and in Tunisia, and then in Italy. It is a friendship that has been cemented under fire.

I don't think I have ever seen troops in better heart than the Indians who were driving the Germans back in the battle for Rome. They were dusty and dirty and short of sleep, and they had suffered some pretty heavy casualties during the first night and morning; but now they were taking a lot of prisoners, and hugely enjoying the chocolates and other comforts which they found in the deep caves of the Gustav Line.

I stopped by a Gurkha regiment and asked the Colonel whether he had recommended any men for immediate decorations during the Rapido crossing. "Yes," he said, "that boy there"—pointing to a rifleman sitting in a slit trench; "he cut off a couple of Jerries' heads with his kukri, and bayoneted a third the day before yesterday at Sant'Angelo. However, he's already got the I.D.S.M. for killing three men at the Sangro River, on the Adriatic side; so I don't know if he'll get anything more."

And yet a more innocent-looking little chap than Rifleman Buddhi Bahadur I never saw. I asked him whether he used a backhand stroke or a forehand when fighting? He grinned when this was translated, and said *both*, but he was too shy to give a demonstration, and the Subedar-Major had to do it for him.

I have told you two stories about Gurkhas, and haven't mentioned the Punjabi Muslim regiments, and have only made a passing reference to the Jats (who have won two V.C.s in this war) and have not said a word about the Rajputs, or Dogras, or Pathans or Mahrattas. I am especially sorry to have said nothing about the Mahrattas, who have won the admiration of all who served with them at Keren, in Tobruk, Tunisia and Italy. However, if I were to attempt to give each race of the Indian Army its due share of praise, I should be speaking all day!

I travelled across Italy three times, from Naples to Lanciano, in order to see all the Indian troops I possibly could. They were enjoying Italy; the sunshine and the fruit and the plough-oxen were familiar to them. Rations are good, and the climate suits them; there is less sickness among Indian troops than there is among British. Most of them—except the Sikhs—are wearing the khaki beret instead of the turban, and look smart in their new headgear. The only grouse I heard was over the cigarette issue, but I hope that has been remedied by now.

On my last day I joined a Frontier Force Regiment which had just taken a village in the Liri Valley. The adjutant was a Parsi, and the second in command and two of the company commanders were Punjabis. In one corner of the ruined village they were still killing snipers and small pockets of the enemy who held out, but where I was they were taking prisoners, who were all so frightened that they could

hardly hold up their hands. One little corporal with an Iron Cross was brought up to where I was standing and had his pockets searched. He said he was an Austrian, and I couldn't help thinking of that other Austrian corporal. . . . I went away for about twenty minutes. When I came back this prisoner was sitting amongst a group of P.M.s with a cup of tea in one hand and a cigarette in the other. He had given his Iron Cross away.

Before leaving the Front I climbed up to the Cassino Monastery, which had then been in our hands three days. There was a storm blowing, which kept the red and white Polish pennant and the Union Jack straining at their flagstuffs, tied to the very top of the ruins. Below me the battle still went forward.

I could see the plumes of white dust, which were the Canadian tanks, in close support of Indian battalions advancing on Piedmont and Puntecorvo. There I must leave them, on the way to Rome.

The story of the Indian divisions in this war is one which is still unfolding. It will certainly not end when the war with Germany is over; even when the Japanese war is over, and peace returns, they will be faced with mighty tasks at home.

They will come home with great prestige, and a broadened outlook on the world. All of them will be better educated than they were, and many of them will be masters of a trade. India is now a creditor nation, and rapidly growing in wealth. Some £4,000,000 has already been earmarked, exclusively to help in the resettlement of the fighting men. There will be much to do. Their dead will not have died in vain if those who return—if these soldiers, sailors and airmen to whom we all owe so much—grasp the opportunities before them, for they are among the best of the youth of India, the pioneers, the adventurers, and the heroes.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Royal Society, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W. 1, on Thursday, July 27, 1944, with Field-Marshal Lord Birdwood, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., D.S.O., presiding. Major F. Yeats-Brown, D.F.C., read a paper entitled "With the Indian Soldier Today."

The CHAIRMAN said that he doubted whether Major Yeats-Brown required any introduction. He first knew him when he was Commander in Northern India and Major Yeats-Brown was a young officer in the 17th Cavalry. He did not know then that he would become a distinguished author. After leaving the Indian Army, Major Yeats-Brown became a flying officer in the Royal Flying Corps, where he served in Mesopotamia in the last war with distinction and won the D.F.C.

Major Yeats-Brown then read his paper.

Brigadier SMYTH, V.C., wished to endorse one or two of Major Yeats-Brown's points. First of all, with regard to the Gurkha soldier, particularly on the Burma front, he had done a most wonderful job in the jungle fighting against the Japanese. At the beginning of the Burma war in the early days of 1942 he had two Gurkha battalions in his little force in Lower Burma, and they did so well that he asked for more Gurkhas, and was sent a very fine Gurkha brigade from India consisting of the 3rd, 4th and 5th Gurkha battalions, who did splendidly and who had continued to do so all through the Burma fighting. The Gurkha soldier was particularly suited to jungle warfare; he was closer to the ground and got through the undergrowth better, and the extraordinary skill he had in the use of his *kukri* not only for fighting but for hacking a way through the jungle was of immense value.

There were other classes of Indian soldiers who had done just as well as the

Gurkhas. He knew Major Yeats-Brown could not see every battalion in Burma, but he was sorry that he did not run across a certain battalion of the 11th Sikh Regiment; had he done so he would have seen an even finer battalion of Sikhs than the one he had mentioned.

He was very pleased to hear about Squadron-Leader Mehar Singh, who was the first Indian pilot with whom he flew and who gave one tremendous confidence.

Finally, he would endorse what Major Yeats-Brown said about the popularity of General Auchinleck not only with the Indian Army but with all ranks of the Army in India. There was, to his knowledge, only one other Commander-in-Chief who might vie with Lord Birdwood and General Auchinleck in that respect, and that was one whose name was still greatly honoured in India—Lord Roberts. The names of these three men—Lord Roberts, Lord Birdwood, and General Auchinleck—would live on as legends to the Indian soldier long after the present war was over.

General G. N. MOLESWORTH thanked Major Yeats-Brown for giving fresh and "hot" news about our Indian soldiers not only from the Burma front but also from Italy. At the present time there were great difficulties in getting anything in the nature of "hot news" about the Indian troops. People were so interested in their pet flying bomb that they had no time for anything else, and the newspapers were turning their eyes to events in Europe, so that although we were doing well in Italy and on the Burma front there was difficulty in getting to know about it. A pamphlet had been issued called *Tunisia*, which dealt with the fighting after El Alamein to the defeat of the Germans in Africa, but there was only one picture of Indian troops in it and reference to the exploits of Indian formations was scanty. There was another book, sponsored by General Auchinleck, being printed which would give a balanced picture of what the Indian troops did in Africa and Tunisia, and the lecturer was also to produce a book which would give a picture worth having.

The efforts to get over news about the Indian soldiers were well worth while. Up to the end of April over 45,000 had been killed, wounded and missing, and over 75,000 were prisoners of war. This was a very big share taken by a volunteer army. With regard to the spirit of the men, this was illustrated by the following story. An Indian soldier went into a dug-out full of Germans, and he made a great mess of it. One German broke out and ran away, and the Indian went after him. A British soldier stopped him and said, "You cannot do that, let him go," and the Indian replied, "What do you expect me to do; bury him alive?"

Major Yeats-Brown had become a Gurkha, Brigadier Smyth was a Sikh, but he would speak of the Indian Army as a whole. There were other classes whose exploits and services deserved equal notice and recognition. He found that a large number of cadets for the Indian Army wished to become Gurkhas; he did himself at one time, but he was very glad afterwards when he went into a very fine Punjab regiment.

The effect of the Indian soldier on Indian development after the war had been mentioned. They were not thinking of the Indian soldiers of 1904 or 1944; General Auchinleck was thinking of them in 1954 and 1964, and he had great visions for them. The Indian soldier's mind had been broadened on two lines. Firstly, war was a great leveller. Whereas democracy was inclined to level down, war levelled up and brought out the best, and one of the things the war would create in an Indian soldier was a spirit of toleration and sympathy with peoples whose religious beliefs were different from his own. They were going abroad and would see how women and children were looked after, as well as the general welfare of other peoples, and if they remembered even a small fraction of what they saw on their travels it would be a tremendous help in building India's development in the villages and towns of the future.

Mr. EDWIN HAWARD said that he had been associated with the Indian Army as a journalist in India for many happy years. What Major Yeats-Brown had said about change in the mind of the Indian soldier had taken his thoughts back to the old days in Lahore when he was a junior on the *Civil and Military Gazette*, which then printed the Army newspaper *Fauji Akhbar*. When he came into touch with the new Indian Army in Singapore in 1941 he found just the same fighting spirit as of old but

quite a new standard of intelligence, as the *Fauji Akhbar* of 1941 showed. This had been well brought out in Major Yeats-Brown's address. As a civilian who had become a little soaked in Indian politics, he felt that when India took on the full mantle of self-government after the war it was a hopeful thought that these magnificent men who had learnt co-operation in arms would be able to give assistance in solving the difficult problems which lay ahead.

Wing-Commander W. W. RUSSELL said that Major Yeats-Brown had mentioned some of the leading figures in the Indian Air Force, and he made the point that at the beginning of the war it had very old aircraft and was poorly equipped. The one squadron in existence in 1939 was increased to four, but still they had only old-fashioned machines, many of them twelve years old. It was 1942 before they had new machines. But magnificent work was done. On one occasion an Indian pilot and a Scottish navigator were out in an old Wapiti fifty miles off the coast of India when they ran into the Japanese battle fleet and aircraft carriers. Very few airmen at that time had ever seen the Japanese battle fleet. One Catalina saw it and was able to save Ceylon. On this occasion the Indian pilot and Scottish navigator in the old Wapiti saw the fleet, with flights of Zeros in the air at the same time, but managed to evade them and shadowed the formidable array for nearly a whole day, a feat which has hardly been equalled.

There was one other story which would illustrate what Indian pilots could do with good planes. This was an exploit of Squadron-Leader Mehar Singh just after he had been awarded the D.S.O. One of the most inexperienced of his pilots had to land in a tiny clearing about half a mile from the Japanese lines in Arakan. The other plane with which he had been patrolling flew back to base and reported the occurrence. Mehar Singh determined to try to rescue the plane; he put some petrol in the back of a Tiger Moth, took his whole squadron with him as escort, and flew over the Japanese lines. He landed in the little paddy field and examined the aircraft. There was a hole in the wing and the airscrew was badly damaged. He put the inexperienced pilot in the Tiger Moth, the petrol into the damaged Hurricane, and took off, and got the plane back to base.

There was a tremendous future for the Indian Air Force, and he hoped that the Government of India would establish a Cranwell after the war in India to train the Indian pilots of the future, on the lines of the Indian Military Academy at Dehra Dun.

The CHAIRMAN said it was surprising what enormous changes had taken place in the few years since he left India. It was extraordinary how the Indian soldier had taken to the mechanization of the Army, because few were so conservative as the Indian cavalryman, whose instincts were with the land and the horse. He was very glad that the author had spoken of the Patiala troops, of whom he had had experience when there was a Patiala regiment among the Gurkhas and the Sikhs who formed part of our force at Gallipoli, and very fine they were. He also knew the Gurkhas well and had the good fortune and privilege of being Colonel of the 6th Gurkha Rifles. The Gurkhas came from beyond the frontiers of India but they regarded themselves as being an integral part of the Indian Army, as we know them to be. Before the war there were twenty battalions of Gurkhas, now there were some fifty. He could remember when he was a young A.D.C. to the ex-Governor of the Punjab, Sir James Lyall, going round a gaol with him. His Gurkha orderly said to the Governor, "I hear there is a man to be hanged tomorrow," and the Governor said, "Yes," when the Gurkha orderly said, "Please, cannot I cut his head off instead?"

He was also glad that the lecturer had made mention of Mehar Singh, and had referred to the Mahratta battalions. We experienced great difficulty in overcoming them in 1804, and since then they had been among our best soldiers; but even then the reputation they gained in Mesopotamia in the last war came as a surprise to some people, and in this war they had once more achieved fame.

The lecturer spoke of the necessity for good rations. Much depended upon that. For many years after he (the Chairman) first went to India the Indian soldier's pay was calculated on the pay he should receive for his work plus what he should spend on rations, so that every man bought his own rations, and when they were expensive

he was compensated. That method had a great advantage, for directly the regiment went on service they received the same pay, and the fact that they got rations as well gave an enormous inducement to service on going on active service.

There was great difficulty in flying over Burma because it was a sea of trees, with no guide in the scenery whatever, and it was wonderful how the pilots got across. The landing by parachutes was a wonderful tribute to the training now given, for even a few years ago this was something never thought of in connection with Indian troops. The old officers of the Indian Army wished they could get many more details of what the Indian troops were doing. Even divisions were mentioned very seldom, units and individuals never.

He agreed as to the debt owed to the men who had trained these soldiers, every one of whom would far sooner be on active service with their regiments. Training recruits was great drudgery and gratitude was felt for the work of those men who trained them. The fact that there was an army of two million men was to the greatest credit of the British, who had inspired confidence and affection in so many, including classes not generally recognized as martial.

The non-fighting races had come forward to show their loyalty to the British Raj; it had to be remembered that both the Indians and ourselves were peace-loving people, and waged war only to defend our country and our people.

Major YEATS-BROWN, in reply to Brigadier Smyth, said that he saw the General commanding the formation in which the 11th Sikh Regiment was serving, and he said that it was one of the finest battalions he had under his command. He had forgotten to mention what excellent rations the men were getting in Italy. The Indian troops were enjoying Italy and their health was excellent, better than that of the British troops. Mr. Haward mentioned the Indian Army newspaper, the *Fauji Akhbar*, which was enjoying a wide circulation, and so also was the new paper, the *Jang-i-Khabren*. There were broadcasts in seven Indian languages to the troops in Italy and the Middle East, including excellent musical programmes and news from the various agricultural centres.

He was sorry he had not mentioned the Indian Navy, which had been increased by more than ten times and was doing very good work on the Burma front. Naval ratings with their technical knowledge were going to be very useful citizens if they were released when the war ended, but probably they would be retained.

Sir HENRY CRAW proposed a vote of thanks to the Lecturer and to the Chairman, which was accorded by applause.

THE SEVENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

FOR THE YEAR ENDING APRIL 30, 1944

In the year under report the Council not only maintained the practice of promoting discussions of matters of immediate interest and significance to India, but also provided for consideration of some of the wider problems which will face both India and Britain when victory has been won. The growth of membership noted in the last annual report has been fully maintained.

The outstanding function of the year was a reception at the Imperial Institute in September to meet Field-Marshal Lord Wavell, the Viceroy-Designate, and Lady Wavell, on the eve of their departure for India. Major-General Sir Frederick Sykes, the President, and Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, welcomed Lord and Lady Wavell and wished Lord Wavell a successful tenure of his high office. The reception was attended by a record number of members and their friends, nearly 500 persons being present.

The constitutional problems of India were discussed at various meetings. The paper read in July by Mr. I. J. Bahadoor Singh condemning the system of communal electorates elicited a keen discussion. A notable event of the year was the publication in October of the third and concluding part of Professor Coupland's "Report on the Constitutional Problem of India," submitted to the Warden and Fellows of Nuffield College, Oxford. Within a few days of the issue of the volume its author addressed the Association on the possibilities of a Hindu-Muslim settlement and on the suggestion that a *via media* between Partition and normal Federation might be found in the grouping of Provinces (and States if possible) into regions or sub-federations. In view of the importance of matters dealt with by Professor Coupland in his paper, and as the time available when it was read did not permit of prolonged debate, the discussion was resumed at a meeting held in January. At this meeting Lord Erskine read a short paper as an introduction to the reopening of the debate.

In the same month Mr. Rajaram R. Bhole, M.L.A., Bombay, a Member of the Scheduled Castes (who was on a lecturing tour in this country and subsequently went to the U.S.A.), spoke of the disabilities suffered by, and the hopes and aspirations of, the Untouchables of India, and severely criticized the attitude towards them of Hindus of the higher castes. The concluding paper in this category came in April when Sir Alfred Watson gave a comprehensive analysis of the question "If Britain Quit India?" and in stressing the mutual advantages of continued association of the two countries suggested as an alternative inquiry "Can India Quit Britain?" On all these occasions expression was given to varied and contrasted views of the constitutional problem.

The Association has had the benefit in recent years of hearing the views of Governors of Indian Provinces on their return to this country. These addresses have been especially welcome at a time when details of provincial events are little reported in the home Press, owing to the shortage of paper and the pressure on space of news directly or indirectly concerned with the war. At the annual general meeting in July Sir Roger Lumley, who had recently returned from Bombay, described the course of events during his tenure as Governor of that Province. In September Sir Robert Reid, who had lately returned after being Governor of Assam, described the share of that Province in the war effort, a matter of special importance in view of the threat of a Japanese invasion into Assam. In the same month the Association had the great advantage of hearing a frank and instructive review of the effects of the war on Burma from Sir Reginald Dorman-Smith, the Governor, at that time on a visit to London, who described the preparation of plans for post-war reconstruction.

The great value of India's part in the war effort was described authoritatively in October by Major-General G. N. Molesworth, Military Secretary at the India Office, and lately Director of Military Operations and Intelligence, and Deputy-Chief of the General Staff in India. Field-Marshal Lord Birdwood, who knows the Indian soldier so well and esteems him so highly, was in the chair. Questions of defence were prominent in an important paper on "India's Part in South-East Asia," read by Sir George Schuster, M.P., who outlined plans for some form of regionalism, both defensive and economic in character, in which India would play a part worthy of her greatness, her natural wealth, her geographical position, and the military renown of her fighting men. The presence in the chair of Lord Hailey, who has become one of the leading authorities of our time on colonial policy, added to the value of the occasion. Sir George Schuster's suggestion that these important matters should be further discussed by the Association was accepted, and at the end of March a close student of the subject, Mr. J. S. Furnivall, who was in the I.C.S. in Burma for some years, spoke on "India and a Regional Council for the Tropical Far East." On the occasion of both lectures frequent reference was made to a recently published work by a distinguished Indian member of the Association, Mr. K. M. Panikkar, under the title of "The Future of South-East Asia."

At a meeting in June the subject of the degree of misunderstanding and misinformation on Indian matters prevailing in the United States was surveyed with balance and restraint by Mr. H. S. L. Polak, who had spent some months in North America on a lecture tour. The occasion was the more instructive from the presence in the chair of Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, who had been on a visit to America during his

deputation to this country as a representative of India at the War Cabinet. That individual men and women of British race resident in India can and should play a great part in the promotion of good relations and the dissipation of misunderstanding was stressed in a paper read in May by Mrs. Iris Portal. Her criticisms of many British women in India for neglecting opportunities to promote friendly social contact and to render service to Indian women and children was keenly debated and also elicited replies from India.

A most distressing feature in India during 1943 was the serious shortage of food in several parts of the country, especially Bengal, and the severe suffering and heavy loss of life caused by that shortage. Mr. P. J. Griffiths, formerly of the I.C.S., Bengal, and now Deputy Leader of the European Group in the Central Legislative Assembly, gave in February a critical analysis of "The Indian Food Scarcity: Its Causes and Lessons," based on first-hand observation. This study was appropriately followed a month later by the paper of Sir John Russell, F.R.S., one of the foremost authorities of our time on agricultural research, in which he dealt with the reaction on Indian agriculture of the resolutions passed at the Food Conference at Hot Springs, Virginia, in May, 1943. The Conference was attended by representatives of forty-four nations, including a strong delegation from India. Sir John showed that the carrying out of the resolutions in that country would necessitate considerable planning in Indian agriculture by both nutrition and agricultural experts, and that there would also be need of economic organization. Another aspect of the better utilization of the soil of India was considered in June at a meeting held jointly with the Royal Society of Arts, when a paper by Mr. D. M. Mahta, Secretary of the Indian Central Cotton Committee, Bombay, on "Recent Advances in Indian Cotton Development" was read in his absence by Sir Frank Noyce. At this meeting the opportunity was taken by Major-General Sir Frederick Sykes, the President of the Association, on behalf of both societies, to welcome Sir Samuel Ranganadhan, the chairman of the meeting, who had two days previously arrived from the United States to take up the appointment of High Commissioner for India in London.

In November Dr. Ranjee Shahani read a fully informed paper on "Literary Interpreters of India: A Selective Study." Interesting comments on the subject were made from the chair by Mr. D. L. Murray, the editor of *The Times Literary Supplement*.

The many members, not only in India, but also at home, who are unable to attend meetings or receptions of the Association are provided with full accounts of the proceedings in the quarterly *Asiatic Review*. Warm testimonies continue to be received to the value of this periodical in that connection, as also in respect to its articles on other subjects affecting India and Asia generally. Two of the lectures referred to in the foregoing paragraphs, those by Sir George Schuster and Mr. Griffiths, were reissued in pamphlet form and thus received still wider publication.

The Association lost an old and staunch friend in the late Maharaja of Gondal, who succeeded to the *gadi* as a child of three in 1869, and who had exercised full governing powers, with great benefits to his people, for no less than six decades. His son and successor was elected a vice-president in his place. Lord Wavell, who had become a member, was elected a vice-president before his departure for India to assume the office of Viceroy. Others elected to be vice-presidents were H.H. the Maharaja of Bikanir (also in succession to his father), H.H. the Maharaja of Travancore, and the Right Hon. Sir John Anderson, M.P.

The Council re-elected Sir John Woodhead as Chairman for a further term of three years. Sir Atul Chatterjee and Sir Thomas Smith were re-elected Vice-Chairmen, but on this occasion (on their joint suggestion) for a period of two years only, to avoid retirement simultaneously with the Chairman. Sir Herbert Emerson resigned his membership of the Council on account of the pressure of his work as Director of the Inter-Government Committee on Refugees. Sir Robert Reid was co-opted to the vacancy. Sir Hasan Suhrawardy has returned to India. Two members of the Council, the Dowager Marchioness of Reading and Lady Bennett, continue to have leave for their special war work. The members of Council retiring by rotation but eligible for re-election are: Sir Alfred Chatterton, Sir Amberson Marten, Mr. Hugh Molson, M.P., Sir Courtenay Latimer, and Sir Frank Noyce.

It is open to any member of the Association to propose a candidate or candidates for election to the Council at the annual general meeting, subject to fifteen days' notice being given to the Honorary Secretary.

In the course of the year the Association lost a number of valued members by death, as shown in Appendix C, including Lord Meston, Sir John Herbert (Governor of Bengal), and the Dowager Lady Lamington, whose husband, the late Lord Lamington, was for so many years President of the Association.

As in 1942-3, the accession of new members has been gratifyingly large, eighty-three having been elected, mainly on the home register, but also including a good proportion of accessions from India. Making allowance for losses by death and for revision of the rolls, the membership is fifty higher than at the end of the previous year, and constitutes a record save for the very early years of the Association. The total amount received from subscriptions (apart from those of life members) was £1,041 18s. as compared with £961 6s. 6d. in the previous year. In addition to the grants for hospitality purposes from H.H. the Maharaja of Baroda and H.H. the Maharaja of Gwalior, the Council has received with gratitude donations to the general funds of £50 from H.H. the Maharaja of Bikaner and £15 from H.H. the Maharaja of Travancore.

The Council is pleased to be able to report that their application to the Inland Revenue authorities for the exemption from assessment to income tax of the interest on the Association's invested funds has been successful.

Mr. P. K. Dutt, representing the Council, and Mr. G. H. Langley, representing the general body of members, again kindly audited the accounts and reported favourably upon them.

The Association has continued to be represented on the Executive and Finance Committees of the Empire Societies' War Hospitality Committee by Sir Thomas Smith; and Lady Hartog represented the Association as an observer at a conference in the autumn in London organized by the International Bureau for the Suppression of Traffic in Women and Children.

The Council welcomed the announcement in the autumn of the appointment by the Secretary of State for India of a Departmental Committee under the chairmanship of Lord Zetland to inquire into the possibility of establishing a Centre of Oriental Culture in London after the war; and the views of the Council were duly represented to the Committee by its Chairman, Sir John Woodhead.

The Council desires once again to express its sincerest thanks to the Honorary Secretary, Sir Frank Brown, for his unremitting and successful work on behalf of the Association. The organization of meetings and social functions involves much hard work, particularly in war-time, and a special debt is owed to him for his success in procuring distinguished and expert lecturers for our discussions. Further, the steady growth of membership affords gratifying evidence of the part he has taken in bringing our work to the notice of people interested in and qualified to speak on Indian affairs.

J. A. WOODHEAD,
Chairman.

F. H. BROWN,
Hon. Secretary.

May 16, 1944.

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

THE annual general meeting of the East India Association was held in the Assembly Hall of the Royal Empire Society, Northumberland Avenue, on Tuesday, July 4, 1944. The chair was taken by the President, Major-General the Right Hon. Sir Frederick Sykes, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., K.C.B., C.M.G., M.P.

THE PRESIDENT, in opening the meeting, said: I should like to thank all those who are present on this occasion for having come along in these difficult days of robots.

As the proceedings at our annual meeting are informal, it has been our custom in recent years to arrange the inclusion both of a social hour and of an address from an authority on some current Indian topic. Hence we invite the presence of friends as well as members, though only the latter vote on the business before the meeting.

This afternoon we are specially fortunate in having with us Professor A. V. Hill, Secretary of the Royal Society and a colleague of mine in the House of Commons, to speak on the vital subject of the necessity for scientific progress in India. Before I call upon him to do so we will proceed with the business of the seventy-seventh annual meeting.

Last week, presiding at a lecture expounding the Bombay Plan of Economic Reconstruction, Sir Alexander Aikman said that there could be no more suitable forum for its discussion than that provided by the East India Association, for it was founded in 1866 for the sole purpose of promoting the welfare of the inhabitants of India. A reference to our report will show that during the year we paid close attention to current problems relating to Indian welfare, and that we had the advantage of hearing a large number of leading authorities on the subject. I know from experience in arranging meetings that success in securing the most suitable lecturers and speakers involves a vast amount of organization and correspondence, and I congratulate our indefatigable Secretary, Sir Frank Brown, on the interesting programme he has been able to bring into effect.

Since the close of our financial year on April 30 we have lost two valued members of the Council—Sir Ernest Hotson and Sir Courtenay Latimer. To the memory of the former I paid tribute at a recent meeting; of the latter I would say that by his high qualities he rose to a prominent position in the Indian Political Service as Agent to the Governor-General in Western India, and later Secretary to H.E. the Crown Representative. The report also refers to the death of an old and valued friend of my own, the late Maharaja of Gondal, who ruled his State in Kathiawar with so much beneficence and wisdom for some six decades. His son and successor, the present Maharaja, has taken his place as a Vice-President of our Association, and has generously sent us a donation of £100. Our gratitude is due to him, as also to those two great Princes the Maharaja Gakwar of Baroda and the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior for the annual grants they make to us for hospitality purposes.

The donation to which I have referred brings me to the financial position of the Association. In the early years of the war we had some reason for apprehension on this matter, for many subscriptions from the considerable proportion of members resident in India were delayed or lost in transit, and we had a small net decline in membership. At the seventy-fourth annual meeting three years ago Lord Hailey, in moving the adoption of the report, asked us not to take too gloomy a view of the situation, and said that the accounts, judging by the example of other societies, were by no means discouraging for wartime. Lord Hailey's reassuring views have been justified by events. In the past two years we have substantially increased our membership, which now stands higher than at any time since the early and enthusiastic days of the formation of the Association. I may also add that the rate of increase in numbers alluded to in the report has been more than maintained in the two months since the close of the financial year.

A matter on which we have special cause for satisfaction is the success of the application made by the Council to the Board of Inland Revenue for exemption from assessment to income-tax of our revenue from investments. The application was first filed in the autumn of 1942, and it was pointed out that other societies with similar aims were exempt. A substantial sum in the form of refund of tax paid in recent years is to be credited to our account, and the first step taken by the Council has been to resolve to invest the amount with some additions in 3 per cent. Savings Bonds, and so to pass it back for the war use of H.M. Government.

The satisfactory result of the application is due in very large measure to the perseverance and tenacity of our Chairman of Council, Sir John Woodhead. We can, I think, best convey our thanks to him by wishing him success in any public work he may be called upon to undertake in the future.

We are also very pleased to welcome with us to-day Sir Reginald and Lady Maxwell, who have just returned from India. You are all aware of the great work Sir

Reginald has done for many years past, first of all in Bombay and then in the Government of India. Another welcome visitor amongst us is Sir Lancelot Graham, who retired from the Governorship of Sind some two years ago, but was kept in India by serious illness, from which he has happily fully recovered. I will ask him to move the adoption of the report.

SIR LANCELOT GRAHAM said : I feel it is a great honour to be invited to occupy this position. I do not know why it has been allotted to me by Sir Frank Brown, but none the less I accepted without hesitation his direction in this matter, and I am sure that therein I have done wisely, because it has been perfectly obvious to me from reading the proceedings of this Association that it owes a great deal not only of its prosperity but of its stability and general success to the labours of Sir Frank Brown.

I must confess that I feel as I stand here very much in the position of the new boy who was required to sing a song on his first Saturday evening at school. The selection for this purpose would have fallen more appropriately on my junior, Sir Reginald Maxwell. The first pupil I ever had in India in the days when young Civilians were allotted to slightly less young Civilians to pilot them about their duties was Sir Reginald Maxwell. I was his *guru* and he was my *chela*, and I may say that I found him a remarkably apt pupil.

If I am to speak about this Association I shall find myself in some difficulty, for if I sound its praises it may seem impertinent, and if I venture to criticize it would be regarded as sheer impudence. It will be best for me to steer a middle course and to express my gratitude to this Association for the welcome it extends to those most recently arrived in this country. They find a very kindly shepherd in the person of Sir Frank Brown, who takes them in hand and sets them on the path they have to follow. Many of you who have had the experience of coming back to this country will know how very much at a loss one feels. We feel rather like that Roman centurion who said, "I've served in Britain forty years! What should I do in Rome?" *Mutato nomine de te fabula narratur*. Change "Britain" to "India" and "Rome" to "London" and we have a picture of the man who has served for a long period in the East and eventually comes back to his native land. The cure for that centurion, though unknown to him, was that he should join in Rome the British Association, had there been such a thing in those days, and the similar cure for those who return to England after long years under alien skies is to join the East India Association. There not only do we find contacts with many friends, but we preserve ourselves from the imminent peril of going mouldy.

This Association, in my view, militates strongly against what I may call the Old Cheltenham conservatism. You maintain yourselves fresh by a stream of new recruits (*taxa bataya*), and I am sure that Sir Reginald Maxwell will agree with me that we look forward to many years of happy membership of this Association.

I have said that any criticism on my part would be sheer impudence, and therefore I refrain from it, even if I had any to offer. I only wish to say that I have heard it said that our proceedings seem to be sometimes unduly uncritical. If that is a correct charge I would repudiate it on two grounds. The first is that all of us who attend these meetings speak as the friends of India, and the tendency of friends is to be "to her virtues very kind, and to her faults a little blind." Therefore if we are unduly uncritical blame it on to our friendship and not on to our lack of intelligence.

Secondly, I think there is operating among us that decided British tendency of never condemning a man in his absence. I think the other side is very often not represented here, but from no fault of the organization of this body. It is perfectly plain from the statement of our objects that we are always glad to hear every point of view, but I take it it does so happen that the other side is not always represented here.

After paying tribute to Sir Ernest Hotson and Sir Courtenay Latimer, Sir Lancelot Graham added : I trust that this Association will go on until its usefulness has been exhausted, and for myself I cannot see any danger of that ever happening. I move the adoption of the report and accounts.

LADY HARROG : I have been asked by Sir Frank Brown to second the motion,

and we all do Sir Frank Brown's bidding, whether we are *ex-Viceroy*s or *Governors* or his more humble minions, like myself. Members of the Association may feel well satisfied with the growth of its membership and with the attendances at its meetings in spite of war conditions, and I think we are justified in taking this growth in our numbers as a sign of increased interest in India and in Indian affairs. I say that without wishing for a moment to detract from the remarkable powers of persuasion of our Honorary Secretary. As a member of the Council I should like also to pay my tribute to Sir John Woodhead, its Chairman, who devotes himself so wholeheartedly to its work. Our President said on a former occasion that the larger our membership the greater the service we could render to India. But I think we all recognize that we suffer in wartime under two disadvantages. The first is that only those who have no definite full-time work can, generally speaking, come to the meetings, so that we cannot touch the younger people. The second disadvantage is that we miss very much our former frequent contacts with India, and especially with our Indian members and friends, although we know that Sir Frank Brown loses no opportunity of getting any "India returned" speakers for us that he can. We do want this Association to continue moving with the times, and to be as well informed and as closely in touch with the India of to-day as with the India of yesterday. I feel that we may look forward to a period of increasing activity and usefulness as Indian contacts become more easy of renewal, and as the great post-war problems of India—political, economic, and social—loom larger and nearer, as they are bound to do before very long. We all want this Association to play its part in the critical time ahead; and I believe it has a real part to play if, attached to no political party, it can provide a platform where all views may be put forward in a spirit of friendly and temperate discussion, where visitors from India may find a warm welcome, and where all those interested in India can meet and keep in touch. Is it too much to hope that through the activities of the Association understanding of India and sympathy with the problems and aspirations of her peoples may spread in a widening circle?

The motion to adopt the report and accounts was carried unanimously.

Sir HARRY HAIG moved the re-election of the following members of Council who retired by rotation: Sir Alfred Chatterton, Sir Amberson Marten, Mr. Hugh Molson, M.P., Sir Frank Noyce; and the confirmation of the co-option of Sir Henry Craw and Sir Robert Reid.

He said that the Council might make two claims for itself, one that it worked as a very united body under the leadership of Sir John Woodhead, and with the indefatigable direction of the Hon. Secretary, Sir Frank Brown, and the other that it represented a very great variety of experience in the problems which affected India, and this, he thought, was illustrated in the names of the members proposed for election. Sir Alfred Chatterton had been a pioneer in the policy of industrial development since the very early days when it first became a live issue, which was about the time the speaker went to India. Sir Amberson Marten provided the traditions of the High Courts of India and the knowledge of the Presidency of Bombay, which played a big part in all their proceedings here. Mr. Hugh Molson in his early days was closely concerned with the political organization of the European community of India, and since his return to this country he had been for a number of years a Member of Parliament, and it might be assumed that he knew as much about politics as anybody ought to know. Sir Frank Noyce had a very wide experience of office and administration both in the Government of Madras and for many years subsequently in the Government of India. Sir Henry Craw provided a very much needed experience of Burma, and finally Sir Robert Reid he remembered as a tower of strength in the days when Bengal was faced with dangerous subversive movements, and since then he had had valuable experience as Governor of Assam, a province very much in the news at present.

There was another name which would have been brought forward that afternoon, that of Sir Courtenay Latimer, had death not intervened so tragically a few weeks ago. Many of them knew Sir Courtenay personally as a man of quite exceptional charm of manner and character. He had worked with him on a committee in the

North-West Frontier Province, and it was mainly through him and his influence and charm and humour that the very diverse elements of which that committee was composed were brought together so that it became a most happy party. His death was a great loss to the Association.

Mr. YUSUF ALI seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

On the motion of Sir THOMAS SMITH, seconded by Sir IDWAL LLOYD, three new members of the Association were elected.

The address by Professor HILL, M.P. (page 351 *et seq.*) followed, and then tea was served.

(End of the Proceedings of the East India Association.)

THE SECRET CODE OF THE GYPSIES IN INDIA

BY W. M. KIRKPATRICK

IN my time in India, and for a hundred years previously, research in botany, zoology, geology, ethnology and anthropology was a spare-time hobby of English officials and soldiers. The indigenous official delegated to work in these field sciences such as anthropology—particularly on Census occasions—could not be expected to find the subjects of his enquiries responsive or reliable. And yet, as media for research in all matters relating to customs and castes, and cognate ethnology and etymology, the assistance of the *lambardar* and the *patwari*, the *nazirs* and *darogas*, *chowkidar* and *jamadar*, the *munsiff*, the *munshi* and the *mamlatdar*, is always as readily given as, indeed, it is invaluable.

The little knowledge I gathered about the Gehara section of the Kanjars, or Gypsies of India, afforded me the greatest interest and pleasure throughout the rest of my time in the East and Far East, especially when I met other nomadic or primitive and aboriginal tribes such as the Mundas and Oraons in the Orissa Feudatory States, and again the Abors and Nagas, and even the Miris of the north-east frontier. All over the Punjab, United Provinces and Bengal, in the Sundarbans or Gangetic delta, within easy distance of Calcutta, if you look for them, you still come across camps and clans of all those people of nomadic nature classified by anthropologists as belonging to the "hunting state," in which category are included all "gypsy folk" in India today, and to a large extent all people allied to the gypsy state all the world over.

I found gypsy-like people everywhere. The *sampers*, so-called snake-charmers, paid seasonal visits to Calcutta, where also one discovered the *bahéliya*, who snared birds with bird-lime and is otherwise not distinguishable from the large numbers of up- and down-country men who comprise the "men in the street" of urban India. Or again, if one looked, there were Romnichal (from the Sanskrit *ramná*, a park, plain or champagne, and *chal*, rover, and means and has the same etymological origin as Kanjar or Zingari), who were to be seen as they are today at wayside railway stations, at eclipse of the sun or any other and every Indian fair or *melé*, or encamped by the wayside. And so also, in unexpected places all over India, one still comes across women dressed as we believe all real *gitanos* or *romani rye* (or *rawnee* or *rani*) ought to be dressed—short pleated skirts, ear-rings, necklaces of coins, amulets and bandeaux of coloured handkerchiefs—the women and children importunately selling spurious square coins (the *chārāri* rupee), love philtres and charms; the men less in evidence. These are the Iranis (Persians), who in their perpetual journeyings traverse in the course of two years all countries between Cochin and Constantinople.

And so I would say to all young Englishmen in India, Malaya, or in the Far East, or West or East Africa—wherever it may be—"Get to know something, anything, about the social structure, habits and customs, religious beliefs and ceremonies, of any one group, or even individual, with whom you have opportunity of contact." Even the most elementary knowledge of this nature would stimulate interest, not only in the group coming within immediate purview, but in their neighbours, and in the country in which they all live together, or apart, or in clans, or in totemic sects; and how and why they do so. You will find the people themselves, and the land around which you and they live, and life itself, altogether more interesting and pleasant, and there will be less need to lie out in long armchairs in club and bungalow verandahs, longing for something different. It is there all around you, the main element of the oldest science associated with mankind—Man himself.

The secret code, cant or slang the Kanjars themselves call *Pási Boli*. Gayer in a lecture on the Sansi and Beria says: "In speaking before others they employ Hindustani, but among themselves they spoke a Marwari dialect, or a tribal dialect which they themselves call *Parsi* [*sic*]." In the way the word was always pronounced to me no "r" sound was apparent—i.e., *pási*, probably a corruption of Hind. *apis*, private, personal. *Kunchbandiya* means makers of brushes, from *kunch*, the brush used by weavers for cleaning the warp threads, and *bándhná*, to tie.

Crooke gives the derivation of Kanjar as Sanskrit *Kánánáchará*, in the sense of a wanderer in the jungle; cf. Harriott's ingenious derivation of Romnichal—*ramná*, also Sans., a park, plain or champagne, and *chal* (*chara*?), rover, wanderer, traveller. Nestfield's theory and etymology is as convincing and more picturesque. See Nestfield's article in the *Calcutta Review*, Vol. LXXVII. Sir Herbert Risley in *Tribes and Castes of Bengal* disposes of the Kanjar with the following description: "Khangor, a gypsy caste of the North-West Provinces who hunt jackal, catch and eat snakes, and make strings of hemp and cotton. In Behar they are chiefly rope twisters."

A reference to the authorities, whether they be the severe official recorder of facts, the etymologist, or the ardent "gypsiologist," will show that many, if not all, have succumbed to the fascination of discovering "linguistic likenesses," and perhaps what is nearer the mark, the *similarity of object and purpose* between Romanes, Romnichal, and the cant* of "Indian tribes allied to the gypsy state." These recognized gypsy tribes of India are not by any means bound by such ties as a common argot. Most of the authorities quoted give vocabularies of various secret and slang languages,† and there are certainly many instances to be found of the resemblances of words; for example, between the collection of Nut words given by Captain D. Richardson a hundred years ago, and the Báoris cant given by Mr. Gayer in his lectures on "Some Criminal Tribes in India."

It will be observed that in the following vocabulary nouns predominate. This and a systematic use of inflections suffixed to the verbal root is a common characteristic of all gypsy, including Romany, argots, so that for ordinary conversation the code is maintained by using local verbs as the medium and by an amalgamation of local dialects, such as Punjabi, Ját-ki-gal (the Ját Punjabi dialect), Hindi or "Marwari" (Marwar Rajputana dialect), not to mention Spanish, Italian, Persian and English. I was informed by members of the Gehara clan themselves that their code in Delhi and Karnal districts is used even with Guzerati verbs as the medium.

The endogamous Kunchbandiya group of Kanjars, and in fact all sections of Kanjars, practise a strict system of exogamy. A case of a girl of a sept or subsection from near Poona (Guzerati) marrying into a Kanjar "camp" at Karnal came under my observation. From such alliances—which are not uncommon—between parties from districts hundreds of miles apart we must expect a certain common use and union of dialects; a resultant patois which, combined with any particular tribal

* The Yetholm Gypsies do not use the word "Romany" as the name of their language, but they call it simply "The cant"—Gaelic *cainnt*, speech, language.

† *Slang*, says Lucas, "is a word of Romani origin." Hind. *khālāngā*, a field; Yetholm Gypsy *slang*, a field park.

"slang," provides a sufficiently extensive vocabulary for the limited conversational requirements of a community of the present-day social status of the Kanjars. This process of amalgamation of dialects among all these vagrant tribes must, as one would naturally expect, eventually result in the discarding of any real original language and in a constantly changing argot. But this does not entirely appear to be the case. Much interest therefore attaches to words with which we can show some analogy, in the various secret languages of other nomads and gypsies, whether in India or Europe.

I compiled this short code personally directly from Kanjars without the aid of intermediaries, and in many cases caught the right word and, as far as I could, the true phonetic pronunciation only after hearing it in actual use several times and over an extended period. My first experience of the Kunchbhand Kanjars was with a subsection who in Delhi and the district call themselves Geharas, and supply the "pigsticking" (tent) clubs of Delhi and Muttra with shikaris. It was common knowledge in villages and in camp among syces and others that these Kanjar-lóg, as they were then called, and until they claimed to be and as I have endeavoured to prove them to be Geharas, had a *boli** of their own; but first attempts at linguistic research in this direction failed. My informers foisted on me what I subsequently discovered to be gibberish, and it was only after I had known the clans settled in and around Delhi for some years that I was admitted into their confidence, and particularly as it also so happened that while I was running the Delhi Tent Club I was instrumental in getting the Geharas of Delhi exempted from the more rigorous operations of the Criminal Tribes Act. This particular branch of the tribe whom I "discovered" to the local authorities through the good offices of Sir Henry Craik, i.e.s., as Geharas, and who have been mostly the source of my information, are now more or less occupied in the peaceful pursuits of making *khas khas tatties* and collecting pigs' bristles, while the adventurous among them still find scope for their natural bent (the hunting state) in following "the line" of the Tent Club or otherwise acting as shikaris. The Gehara subsection of the Kunchbandiya Kanjars in and around Delhi is now practically a settled community. Any interest, therefore, which we take in them or their manners and customs, their origin and language, can only operate to their benefit.

FOOD AND DOMESTIC

Kanjar Slang.

Bajra (lesser millet)	Sarkuá
Bread	Dhîmrí
Burial	Khimti dūbāigot
Caste	Jethéli
Child (male)	Chōōkhá
Child (female)	Chōōkhí
Cloth, clothes	Toopkhá
Dead, he or it is	Mikatchgo
Drink	Kürch
Eat, to	Dath lóg (or dut lóg)
Ghi (clarified butter)	Ninghár
Gold mohur	Khasarí†
Gur (molasses)	Dátmi
Hookha	Nōōjá

* Talk or language. In Hindustani, *apas ká boli hai* = "there is a conversation or language of their own," which the Kanjars themselves call *pási boli*. I think it is likely that *pási* is slang for *apas* or *apis* or *apsé*.

† Hind. mud, *matti*, *mitti*; dub. = sink, drown.

‡ Hind. *asarfi*, a simple but effective disguise; and this affixing of a consonant, usually an *r* or a *k*, is a common method of conversion in Indian slang languages. See numerals—*bék*, one, Hind. *ék*.

FOOD AND DOMESTIC (Continued)

Kanjor Slang.

House, hut	Rib
Millet (Majra)	Sarkua
Man	Khád*
Plate, earthen (utensils)	Chaindhlá
Pulse	Phénshi
Rice	Kütár
Rupees	Riká
Shoes	Gudári
Sister	Chain; Chá-ccn
Sugar, sweets	Dátmi
Tobacco	Romák
Utensils	Chaindhlá
Virgin	Kumári
Woman	Loobhárt
Well	Dhoán
Wheat	Roská
Water	Nimáni
Father	Bápfo
Mother	Chá, ántári

INTERTRIBAL APPELLATIONS

This use of different and disguised names by one tribe for another is curious. The popular outside world name is well known to the tribe, but they prefer a slang designation; for instance, in speaking of the Bhátus or Bhántū, the Gehara (Kunchbhand) Kanjars call them Rhántu; or, as they put it, "They are Bhántu, but we call them Rhántu." This private nicknaming peculiarity must add considerably to the perplexities of the Census enumerator, and I can well imagine it to be a fruitful source for the discovery of new septs and subsections. Take the Bédiya or Bériya—the Kunchbhand (and other Kanjars as well, I believe) call them Jódái, and it would be only what one might expect for a not too interested enquirer to conclude that Jódái must be a new sept or sectional name, and so on. The following are a few distinctive intertribal names or nicknames—for all that, particularly interesting:

Kanjor Cant.

Bhátus or Bhántus	Rhántū
Bajánia	Kanátia
Bawariya or Báoria	Párdi
Bédiya or Bériya	Jodái
Gohar	Péhdá
Nat	Goár (not to be confused with Gohar)
Kunchbhand Kanjars	Gchára
Sámperás, particularly; but an appellation commonly used by Kanjars for all and sundry wandering tribes	Jogi

If the Kunchbhand Kanjar is ever "in the jungle" (and he is there pretty frequently)—that is, on nomadic or other trek—and he meets the Sámperá tribe, his salutation is "Á Náth Rám Rám!" and the greeting he gets in return is "Rám Rám bhai Gehari O!" Notice the feminine "Gehari O!"—a salutation suggesting a past brotherhood when the Kunchbhand Kanjar was himself a nomad.

* Hind. *ádmi*—an instance of dropping the suffix and prefixing the familiar *k* or *kh*—*khádmí* and *khád*.

† Cf. Romany *loubni*, a wench or prostitute; see Romany vocabulary.

NUMERALS

One	Bék	Six	Chhebéliu
Two	Dobéliu	Seven	Sathéliu
Three	Thibéliu	Eight	Athéliu
Four	Chabéliu	Nine	Nabéliu
Five	Rachéliu*	Ten	Daséliu

For eleven, twelve and thirteen up to twenty there is no slang; counting after this is done in tens, but twenty is *biséliu*, and after twenty we have forty = *dobiséliu*, sixty = *thibiséliu*, and so on, to *nabiséliu* or "nine twenties," which is one hundred and eighty, the grand summit of their numerals and monetary value. *Nabiséliu reka* (= nine twenties or one hundred and eighty rupees) is the "bride-price," or what the bridegroom or his family have to pay the bride's family. In parting with his bride—divorcing her—a like sum has to be paid to her or her relations as a *dót* to help her to find another husband or home.

ANIMALS

Boar (wild), single or sounder	Ghūrér
Cat	Dhēēbri
Hare	Khurrá
Dog	Jhōōkal
Jackal	Ghēgar, Syar†
Parrot	Nūtá
Ox	Rail
Snake	Rapēla, Sānpīlo
Wolf	Rehdējá
Sand lizard	Sándát (but "sand" and <i>sándá</i> , be it noted, have no etymo- logical relation)

NATURAL PHENOMENA

Afternoon, midday, morning	Thipáro, dopáro, pailpáro—i.e., the third, second and first watches; in fact, the same as Hindustani, but there is a dis- tinct and peculiar pronuncia- tion which obscures even familiar words like these.
Day	Din, same as Hindustani
Dawn	Din nifargo§
Death	Mikatch
Fire	Jhūrání, Joráhi
Moon	Chianda
Night	Khírt
Sky	Rádul¶
Storm	Khándi**
Stars	Taréngé††
Sun	Ghamēla
Water	Nimanf

* Notice the *r*—*rachéliu*, not *pacheliu* as might be expected.

† *Syarmar*, jackal slayer, a common appellation among all these *shikari* tribes, and is the name given to a section of tribes classified by Crooke as "disreputable livera." Hind. *gidar*; Pers. *shāgdā*; Sans. *sricāl*, a jackal.

‡ Hind. *sánd*, a stallion, a rhinoceros. The "oil" of this particular sand lizard has a reputation as an aphrodisiac.

§ *Din nifargo*; *nifargo* is to run—the day is running out of the night.

|| Hind. *chānd moon*, so that *chianda* is only a dialectic disguise. N.B.—Romanes for moon is *chiend* and for silver *chindi*; Hind. *chāndi*. Many of the slang words here given are further disguised in pronouncing by accentuation of syllables.

¶ Hind. *bādul* = clouds. ** Hind. *śāndhi* = dust storm. †† Hind. *śara* = stars.

MISCELLANEOUS

Awake	Jāgōg*
Bolt, do a	Chaukjao
Caste or tribe	Jathelá
Feet	Pamélá
Goes; there it goes	Wo Jaogdá
Heart	Jabelo
Excitement (of the hunt or chase)	Jabelo ghabráro†
Hide yourselves (imperative)	Jūgjao
Move on; go on	Niparo, challagdao
Mud	Khimti
Him, to	Birókó
Prostitute	Dhānchinf
Quickly go	Chálagjao
Run, to	Nipharnát
He has gone somewhere or to some place unknown	Rardés gaogiro
Sleep; gone to sleep	Türrakgo
Sleeping, he is	Türrak ráhró
See, to	Tigro
Spring, or well, or water-hole in the sand of a river bed	Dhoán
Thief	Khainch
Wait (imperative)	Chaitjó
Swim, to	Tübárgo
Yes	Hambá (common Rajputana dialectic form)
Drink	Kürchlo
Drink water	Nimáni kürchlo
Smoke tobacco (<i>i.e.</i> , drink or inhale)	Romák kürchlo
Smoking or drinking, he is	Kürch ráhró
Know, I	Jándo
Call out, in reference to a hank or "beat" when hunting and driving a jungle for game	Lalkáro
Oh, mother! Expressive of surprise or disgust, an appeal to their Deity, who is also called Mārani or Máhārani.	Diýá!

If we accept the conclusion that the Gypsies scattered throughout Europe are all of Indian origin and descended from one original parent stock—and there appears to be a certain unanimity of opinion on this point§—it is not very remarkable that there should be an incidence of resemblances and even actual identity between Romanes and the argots of Kanjars and allied tribes of a gypsy character.

This vagrant race of people, or shall we say certain vagrant races of people, we call Gypsy in England—a corruption of Egyptian, originating in the error that Egypt was their native place. They are variously called Tinkler|| (Tinker) or Caird in Scotland, Gitana and Zincalo in Spain, Zigeuner in Germany, Zingari in Italy, Kanjar in India, and so on. A comparative survey of the manners, customs, habits and occupations of the Kanjar with the English Gypsies, the Zigeuner with the Zingari or the Gitana with the Bohémien, as they are called in France; a comparison

* A simple adaptation of Hind. *jāgná*, to wake.

† Hind. *ghabragiya* = confused.

‡ See "dawn" and "move on."

§ See Bengal Census Report, 1872, p. 158, for a complete refutation of this theory.

|| Spanish form *Zincalo* (pronounced Thincalo).

of their nomadic and occasionally predatory habits—all temptingly point to some common identity. In addition we find all these people have a phraseology of their own, call it what we may, backslang or cant or jargon or gibberish. Investigation shows that none of these various argots or codes is without some consistence and character, whether we study the vocabularies given by Grellmann, or Hoyland, or Irvine, or Calanel Harriott, or Leland, or Smart and Crofton, or Lucas on Yetholm Gypsies, or Simson, or even any of the various codes and vocabularies of Indian Gypsies, of which there are a large number of reliable collections.

And finally we have the remarkable "linguistic similitude" between Romanes or Romnichál and various Indian dialects, as may be seen by comparison of the Romanes vocabulary and a colloquial list of Hindustani words.

THE PUBLIC HEALTH EFFORT IN TURKEY AND SOCIAL ASSISTANCE

By BAY NUZHET BABA

(The author is a leading member of the Turkish Press Association.)

SOCIAL assistance is inherent in the blood of the Turkish people.

The trait of chivalry, of assistance to a neighbour, of siding with the under-dog even if it entails self-sacrifice, are well-known national characteristics of the Turk.

In the old days the Ministry of Pious Foundations or the Keeper of Mortmain Property and Revenues (the Turkish word is "Evkaf") was an institution founded solely for the purposes of benevolence and the social well-being of the poorer classes.

Notions of mutual assistance, of actions of benevolence, and of sharing at least some parts of one's bounty with the needy are traits of character as old as the Turkish people.

The central authority in charge of health and social assistance is the Ministry of Health and Social Assistance. Legislation has included within the scope of this authority the efforts of the municipalities and of certain Cabinet officers. The combination of these efforts, in groups widely scattered throughout the country, enables the remotest corners of the homeland to be reached. The objects of all these efforts are to contribute, either directly or indirectly, to the social well-being of the people and in a more general way towards a healthier and physically better constituted race.

Under the new organization, what had formerly been disorganized and slipshod has now been developed into a scientific system, parallel with that operating in many Western countries.

Free treatment for the sick, campaigns against epidemics and social maladies, campaigns against infectious diseases, malaria and the like—all these fall within the sphere of activity of this Ministry. So, too, do the control of the quality of foodstuffs, the assistance to disabled workers, and the task of educating the masses to become health conscious.

To the Ministry of Health and Social Assistance are also entrusted the governance of maternity homes, hospitals, sanatoria, and the vast service in the general field of the protection of health. Health propaganda publications, posters, and other printed matter; talks over the radio and directly to the people in public halls on the methods of combating infectious diseases; demonstrations through the cinema and the responsibility for the films and the projectors also are in the charge of the same ministry office.

But as a fundamental support to any movement for a healthier people the physician must be the primary element in its realization. The Faculty of Medicine in Istanbul cannot be expected alone to fill in all the gaps in this nation-wide call on the medical profession. Enlarged and extended though its facilities and laboratories have been, the demand for trained medical men is too great for this institution alone. Hence another Medical Faculty is planned; it is to be situated at Ankara, and when functioning together with the Istanbul Medical Faculty, will go far to help in the training of sufficient physicians, so that eventually there will be at least one trained medical man to every thousand of the population.

The greatest efforts are being made to fight contagious and infectious diseases: malaria, social maladies, typhoid fever, trachoma and dysentery diseases, which in certain districts are prevalent but which are being scientifically attacked.

Though an increase in the birth-rate is desirable, its importance is superseded by the desire for healthier babies. The conviction of the authorities is that quality counts more than quantity when the value of each man to his country is considered.

Strong efforts certainly are being made to reduce mortality among infants and premature death among adults. In the campaign against infantile mortality exceptionally hopeful results have been obtained. Statistics issued in 1939 show that fully 31 per cent. of the whole population of Turkey is composed of children of nine years of age or below.

The country in Europe with the highest percentage of children of these ages next to Turkey is Bulgaria, which has 24.45 per cent, with Greece following with 22.50 per cent. Italy, France and Britain follow with 22 per cent., 17.2 per cent. and 14.20 per cent. respectively. The rate of mortality, premature and otherwise, has been reduced by 22 per thousand, largely due to the efforts of the Ministry of Health. The organization of the Public Health Services and Social Assistance may best be explained by dividing it into the following groups:

(a) State Health Organization, (b) Laws and Enactments affecting Public Health, (c) Provincial and Municipal Health Organization, (d) Personnel and Field Service, (e) Public Hygiene Service, (f) The Campaign against Diseases, (g) Social and Sanitary Institutions, (h) Health and Sanitation Propaganda.

STATE HEALTH ORGANIZATION

The idea of a State health service dates back to 1485, when the first "cure house" was opened at Adrianople (now Edirne) in Thrace; and not long after, in 1555, the State School of Medicine was opened in Istanbul. It was not until 1826, however, that this institution was sufficiently perfected to be termed a Faculty of Medicine. In 1839 a Superior Council of Health was established in Istanbul under the old Sultans.

The first Ministry of Health was instituted in 1870, with a Cabinet officer at the head.

The present Ministry of Health and Social Assistance was set up by the National Government in 1920. Under the Republic, which was proclaimed in 1923, there was an extension and general enlargement of the sanitary organization, an increase in the number of qualified physicians, of health officials and field service facilities, the establishment of model hospitals, maternity homes and sanatoria; there was instituted an active campaign against malaria, social maladies, trachoma and other such diseases.

The establishment of a Central Institute of Hygiene and a School of Hygiene was also projected at that time. These plans, after undergoing changes—due to experiences gained—are now administered by a director-general of port, coastal and frontier sanitary administration; this official is a member of the International Convention of 1926, which, it will be remembered, was drawn up to enable each nation to protect frontiers and harbours from contagious and infectious diseases.

The Central Institute of Hygiene has been in operation since 1931.

The work of this organization is to investigate the best methods for each campaign against infectious diseases. This institute prepares the vaccines, serums and other such medical necessities. There are now nineteen bacteriological specialists, three veterinary surgeons and thirty-four other skilled officials employed by the institute.

The Ministry of Public Health and Social Assistance is also, jointly with the Home Office, interested in the settlement of Turkish immigrants, especially in matters regarding sanitation, the supply of proper provisions and in rendering such other assistance as may be necessary. The central administration of this Ministry employs a fully qualified personnel stationed throughout the provinces. In every small town there is a doctor, who attends, without charge, to the medical requirements of the poorer classes. And, further, he makes no charges to anyone during his eight-hour daily period of consultation. This doctor is held responsible to the Ministry for the sanitary conditions obtaining in his district. In each of the provinces, or "vilayets," there is generally also a Health Inspector.

These medical services are being widely expanded both in their number of stations and in their scope. About three times as many qualified practitioners were, according to official statistics, employed on the national health service in 1939 as in 1923, and the number of trained sanitary inspectors was increased fourfold during the same period. On these services the State, in 1939, was employing some 3,000 trained men and women.

Since the beginning of the Constitutional régime and the Republican era, control of all the food and water supplies, sewage systems, the proper disposal of refuse, the siting of cemeteries and regulation for burials are also undertaken by this Ministry. These efforts are not confined to the more populated centres, but are being widely extended into the interior of the country; and the organization of "village guards," whose work it is to see that the advice of the Ministry of Health is understood and its recommendations are carried out, is proving of great benefit to the rural districts.

In the campaign against malaria such extensive studies have been made by the Republic health services that it may now be said that malaria is eliminated from the country as a major disease. Where formerly whole communities were victims of its ravages, malaria has now come to be regarded as a scourge of the past.

Out of a total of 2,313,290 people living in the formerly malarial districts in 1939, no less than 896,187 underwent blood tests, and the remainder submitted themselves to a general medical examination.

So widespread has this anti-malarial campaign been that the results showed that only an infinitesimal percentage were found to carry malaria germs. Preventive measures, such as the free distribution of quinine, the drainage of swamps and other annihilating attacks on the breeding areas of the mosquito larvæ, are being actively carried out. A large field force is now employed in all the provinces. Dispensaries, medical posts, and travelling doctors and health officers are ceaselessly on the alert to combat one of the enemies of Turkey's well-being.

From the beginning of the undertaking by the Republican Government up to the end of 1939, 116,304,929 square metres of marshland have been drained and over one and a quarter thousand kilometres of canals have been constructed.

The Malaria Institute, established in Adana in 1928, has been making extensive studies in the campaign against malaria.

In the southern and south-eastern vilayets the Ministry has acted with equal determination to combat trachoma.

Mobile hospital units have been instituted not only to visit the towns but to go into the heart of the rural districts.

With equally untiring effort the anti-tuberculosis campaign has been fought and has met with considerable success. In all these campaigns the Ministry has selected the most modern and scientific methods; trained personnel and a number of hospitals, dispensaries and service stations are now at its disposal for curative, prophylactic and research work.

HEALTH AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

These institutions date back to the early Ottoman Sultans. The first hospital, then under the name of a "cure house," was opened in Bursa in 1399. The establishment of this institution was followed by the foundation of a "cure house" in Adrianople in 1421, and that at Fatih, in Istanbul, was opened in 1470; the Medical School of Adrianople was founded in 1485. Records exist to show that during the sixteenth century many "cure houses" were opened in Istanbul and the provinces. Though

charitable institutions, these were considered among the greater medical foundations of contemporary Europe, and large funds were allotted to them to cover the services they were rendering. The Sultans, their Viziers and other wealthy persons in the country were the actual founders, but the upkeep was entrusted to the Organization of Pious Foundations (the *Evkaf*), which had seemingly limitless mortmain revenues. But when decadence began to set in in the Ottoman Empire, as in all other fields of progress the number of these institutions dwindled, with the result that the number of curative institutions taken over by the Republican régime was no more than fifty-four. The following table illustrates the increase in the number of health institutions between 1923 and 1939 :

		<i>State Hospitals.</i>	<i>Provincial Hospitals.</i>	<i>Municipal Hospitals.</i>
1923	...	3	45	6
1939	...	26	78	21

DISPENSARIES.

		<i>State.</i>	<i>Provincial.</i>	<i>Municipal.</i>
1923	...	nil	30	nil
1939	...	179	55	37

The increase in the number of hospitals and dispensaries is overshadowed by the excellence of the service they render to the general health and welfare of the public. Not only are they all provided with the most modern equipment and facilities, but also the service offered is of the highest order. Model hospitals have been established in Ankara, Sivas, Erzerum and Diyarbakir, and these are being copied throughout the country. In addition to these hospitals there are a number of sanatoria, children's hospitals, poor houses, maternity homes and similar institutions under the direct control of the Ministry of Public Health and Social Assistance.

The Ministry also exercises control over privately established hospitals and other health institutions which are, both in numbers and in excellence of service, competing, so to speak, with the State efforts.

The Ministry, to emphasize the importance of medical examination of school children, dental care, general vaccination, inoculations, etc., has drawn up regulations whereby municipalities are obliged to provide such services free of charge. The activities of the Ministry in the field of health propaganda are always kept up to date. Museums have been established and exhibitions arranged, designed to propagate hygienic principles; posters, booklets, pamphlets and such pertinent matter are distributed to the villagers and displayed in public places. Where formerly no doctor nor even a health officer was ever to be seen, now the district is frequently visited and continually controlled by qualified doctors and inspectors, and the work of these men is often supplemented by illustrated publications and posters and by the aid of the cinema, all aiming to produce a healthy and health-conscious people.

In the field of social assistance excellent service is rendered by the Red Crescent Society. A fair example of its valuable activities may be cited in the case of the wide assistance it extended to the earthquake-stricken areas in 1939. The Turkish Red Crescent Society, a most active and up-to-date institution, can be credited with most valuable national and international work, and the succour it extends to the needy in times of peace and in times of war is too well known to require further comment.

WHAT THEY READ IN TURKEY

A DISCUSSION BETWEEN E. R. VERE-HODGE AND ORHAN BURIAN

[This talk was given in the Thursday night English programmes over the short wave from Ankara. The wave-length is 31.7 metres and the time 21.25 British Summer Time.]

V.-H.: What fundamental difference is there between the spirit of Turkish literature and European literature?

O. B.: This is a question which cannot be very well answered unless it is remembered that, roughly speaking, from the fourteenth almost up to the middle of the last century there existed a literature considered as the classical Turkish literature, and that since then, with the impact of the West, new modes of expression similar to those of Europe have come to replace that earlier literature in Turkey. So that when compared with European literature, each of these has its own characteristic differences to show.

V.-H.: I see. Is it true that in your classical, or traditional, literature poetry was the dominant form of expression and that prose was scarcely used for literature purposes, except in chronicles and travel books and occasionally when dealing with ethical subjects, and that, on the other hand, poetry was ornate and highly stylized.

O. B.: Yes, that is true enough.

V.-H.: And what kinds of poetry were especially favoured?

O. B.: Well, there were the *gazels*—that is, love lyrics; the *kasides*—that is, regular odes in praise of some person or event; and *mesnevis*—that is, stories in verse. But originality in subject-matter was not looked for in these compositions. In fact, the *gazels* would invariably tell of the beauties of the beloved, the *kasides* the excellences of the patron praised, and the *mesnevis* well-known love stories adapted from previous Turkish or Persian poets. The poet writing in any one of these forms would be expected to show his craftsmanship, particularly in devising his rhythmical effects and in the use of an ingeniously wrought and highly decorated language.

V.-H.: But I don't see how that kind of literature could do much to reflect the ideas and actions of the time.

O. B.: Far from it. It ever remains, in the case of the greatest names even, a technical *tour de force* of the poet isolated from his world and concerned with nothing but artistry. Thus, to sum up the major characteristics of our traditional literature, it is mainly in verse; it seeks originality not in matter but in manner; and, lastly, ignoring the time and place of its composition, it remains purely literary.

V.-H.: That's interesting. The literature of the last hundred years has broken away from all those aspects of your earlier literature, hasn't it?

O. B.: Oh yes, completely. Prose, for example, has become as important a medium as poetry; furthermore, it has been applied to such newly adopted literary forms as drama, fiction and essay-writing—in fact, to all the branches of literature one meets with in studying any of the European literatures. More important still, literature has become the personal expression of a mind at a certain given time and in a given place, face to face with his own life and destiny. Thus, when we come to the Turkish literature of the last hundred years the difference from European literature is no longer qualitative but quantitative—that is, in our favouring this type a little more, that type a little less, than any given European people.

V.-H.: What form of writing appeals to the Turkish people? Do they like highbrow or lowbrow literature?

O. B.: Having no statistics in hand it is difficult for me to speak in any definite terms. But I may say that Turkish people do not generally like highbrow literature; but is there a country, even including France, where we may safely say that people like highbrow books? Aren't authors like Joyce, Gertrude Stein—or Proust, for that matter—bound to remain writers of a minority everywhere throughout the world?

V.-H. : Yes, I agree. That applies to all countries.

O. B. : Still, such a minority does exist in Turkey too, a minority anxious to read Huxley in Turkish and ready to applaud "stream of consciousness" type of experimental novelettes. I have spoken mainly in terms of prose fiction because that seems to be the form of widest appeal in Turkey, as it is elsewhere.

V.-H. : Still, it seems to me that poetry has an important place in Modern Turkish literature too.

O. B. : Yes, poetry ranging from very regular and orthodox examples to the most daring surrealist flights, both in matter and in form, is always the main battleground of conflicting loyalties among the intelligentsia.

V.-H. : I thought so. And what about drama?

O. B. : Drama, on the other hand, is struggling to hold its own, against the cinema mostly, with the European classics on the stage. The support it gets from our own playwrights is scarce and uneven.

V.-H. : Who are the favourite Turkish authors? I know, of course, of Halide Edip and her novel in English called *The Clown and His Daughter*.

O. B. : Her memoirs of the Turkish War of Independence were also written in English, you know. She ranks among our foremost novelists and has recently won a literary prize with the Turkish of the same *Clown and His Daughter*.

V.-H. : I wish that more modern Turkish works were translated into English.

O. B. : Well, that can be corrected in time, but as there are so far very few translations, I wonder whether the names of other authors would convey very much to our listeners.

V.-H. : Perhaps not, yet. I should very much like to know, however, something of your short-story writers.

O. B. : It is an interesting thing that of the two short-story writers most widely read among the younger generation, one disclaims all pretensions to matters of style and concentrates on giving slices of reality, mostly out of the lives of peasants caught up in the complex rush of towns and cities. Whereas the other writer, indifferent to plot and to any objectivity, is after conveying a mood through a style that ebbs and flows and by a sidelong into the psychology of his heroes.

V.-H. : And reverting to present-day Turkish poetry, is there the same variety in that?

O. B. : Certainly; there is a great variety of poets to illustrate all kinds of style. (If they were using English, it would not be difficult to find two young men, one of whom would be writing very much like Sir Henry Newbolt, while the nearest approximation to the other—with his quotations from the ancient Egyptian and Buddhist texts—would be Ezra Pound.)

V.-H. : I notice that you Turks read a lot of European literature, both in the original and in some of your really excellent translations. Has European literature greatly influenced modern Turkish literature?

O. B. : Indeed, yes, especially that of France. First of all, this influence has led our writers to adopt new forms, which I referred to before. It has also made them realize that permanency and beauty for literature is to be found in *what* is said more than *how* it is said. They saw that all the European classics were based on "truths that perish never," that literature was the surest and noblest means of putting ideas into currency (ideas that, if false, are sooner or later bound to be detected and dropped, but, if true, are recognized as sovereign gold and enjoy the widest circulation), therefore, on the one hand, falling into step with other modern literatures in every way; on the other hand, starting a translation activity on a very wide scale. Turkey participates today in the universal belief that life and letters are one and indivisible.

V.-H. : Yes, it is really good that the volume of translations both from and into Turkey is increasing. Meanwhile, not a few of us are striving to reach the point where we can read your modern Turkish literature in the original. Thank you for telling us so much about it.

O. B. : There is a lot to tell, but I see that Mr. Manyas is looking meaningfully at the announcer's clock.

RECENT ARABIC PUBLICATIONS

By A. J. ARBERRY

EACH passing year brings further proof of the growing range and vitality of the present renaissance of scholarship and writing in the Arab world. Even all the well-known difficulties resulting from the war, in particular that acute shortage of paper and newsprint from which the countries of the Middle East have been suffering equally with ourselves, have not arrested the abundant flow of books from the printing presses, especially those of Cairo.

Fully as remarkable is the steadily rising standard of book-production among the Arabs. The days of the cheap and crowded yellow print, abounding with errors and a plague on the eyes, are now long past. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that, apart from illustrations and binding, the average Arabic book nowadays compares quite favourably with all but the special and de luxe editions of Western publishers. And one does not mind paying a slightly higher price for Arabic books when one purchases these fully compensating advantages. Even now, despite the inflationary tendencies obtaining in the Arab countries, books are very cheap compared with European standards.

In this and, it is hoped, in succeeding articles we shall be giving some brief notes on outstanding books reaching this country from the Middle East. These notes, inadequate as they must necessarily be in view of the restriction on space and the haphazard nature of book imports from the East, may nevertheless have something of interest and value for those who wish to know what is being written nowadays in those parts.

This year, according to the Hijri reckoning (1363), is the millenary of that great and original genius Abū 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arri, the Voltaire of the Arabs. The occasion has been marked by celebrations in the Arab countries as well as in the United States, and by the publication of books and articles. We here mention two examples. With Abū 'l-'Alā' the name of Dr. Ṭaha Ḥusain Bey will now always be coupled; and another book from his pen on the author whose brilliant interpreter he long ago proved himself to be is a welcome event. In *Ma'a Abi 'l-'Alā fi sijnihi* ("With Abū 'l-'Alā in Prison"), Dr. Ṭaha Ḥusain re-examines certain passages of the *Luzūmiyyāt*, and the less-known but equally remarkable *al-Fuṣūl wa'l-ghayāt*, with results at once stimulating and most instructive. Getting on for forty years ago Professor R. A. Nicholson introduced English readers to that masterpiece of satiric unorthodoxy and ruthless criticism, al-Ma'arri's *Risālat al-Ghufrān* ("Epistle of Forgiveness"). Now G. Brackenbury, who has already given us his translation of *Blue Wings*, short stories by Maḥmūd Kāmil, turns his attention to classical Arabic literature and brings out a new version of the Epistle. It is a meritorious, if uneven, performance, a happy augury of Anglo-Egyptian collaboration (for Mr. Brackenbury acknowledges his indebtedness to "so great an elucidator of Al-Ma'arri as Kamil Kilany"). Both these books are published by the Ma'arif Printing and Publishing House of Cairo.

From the Sādir Press of Beirut come two books, one large and one small, one new and one old, by the pen of Mikhā'il Na'ima, one of the finest writers ever produced by that remarkable home of literary talent, the Lebanon. Na'ima was a devoted friend of the great Lebanese-American author Jibrān Khalil Jibrān; and the large and old book is a welcome second edition of his biographical and literary study, written shortly after Jibrān's death. The small and new book, *Hams al-jufūn*, is a slender and elegantly produced volume of Na'ima's poetry. It contains both verse originally written in Arabic, and Arabic prose translations of some of the author's English poems; and each poem is a little gem. Na'ima combines simplicity of style with deep thought and a most felicitous choice of words; his message is a satisfying compound of gentle pessimism and mystical insight. This Lebanese poet deserves to be better known; and we venture to add a version of one of these poems.

THE WAY

We, my son, a legion are, lost vagrants in a waste profound,
 Yearning homeward, unrememb'ring by what way our advent wound.
 So about the waste we scatter, seeking for a token known,
 Ask the sun where lies our path, solicit guidance of a stone.
 Thus we shall remain for ever, searching tokens low and high,
 Till such time as we discover in ourselves the path doth lie;
 Thus we shall remain for ever, wretched, outcast wanderers,
 Scaling heights, traversing lowlands, endless as our journey ere—
 Thus for ever, nightly pillow'd, then astir at break of day,
 Till our fate is nigh upon us, and at last we find the Way.

From Beirut we return to Cairo, from modern to classical poetry. The Istiqāma Press has issued a volume of studies of five old Arab poets, four of them authors of *Mu'allaqāt*; the work was begun by the late Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Marsāfi, and has been continued by Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī and 'Abd al-Ḥafīz Shalabī. The great interest now taken in the old desert poetry is shown by two new books on Imr al-Qais: one, printed at the Egyptian Library Press, by Dr. Muḥammad Ṣabrī, is a scholarly piece of work; the other, issued by the Ma'arif House, is a popular imaginative biography by Muḥammad Farīd Abū Ḥadīd.

Ibrāhīm 'Abd al-Qādir al-Mazīnī, the well-known novelist and critic, writes on the life, personality and poetry of Bashshār in a new series (*A'lām al-Islām*) issued by the Encyclopædia of Islam Translation Committee; to this same series 'Alī Adham has contributed an historical novel written around the career of al-Manṣūr of Andalusia. Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh 'Inān, whose *Mawāqif Ḥāsima fi tarīkh al-Islām* ("Decisive Moments in the History of Islam") has been translated into English, has written a new volume of sketches of famous characters in European history, from Lucrezio Borgia and Machiavelli to Dreyfus and Parnell; the book *al-Ma'āsī wa's-Ṣuwar al-ghawāmiḍ*, is printed by the Egyptian Library Press. Aḥmad Amīn, brilliant scholar and historian, and a most human personality, has brought out a fifth part of his *Fa'id al-khāṭir*, reprinting essays from *ath-Thuqāfa*; noteworthy in this new book is a series of studies of the great modern reformers of Islam. An important new biography of King Fouad (*al-Malik Fu'ād*) comes from the able pen of Karīm Thāhit, excellently produced by the Ma'arif House.

Among other noteworthy publications of the Ma'arif House we must mention a new series of pocket books, called *Iqra'* ("Read"); these little volumes, brought out once a month at P.T.5, many by famous authors—a recent one is a history of Damascus by the distinguished Syrian scholar Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī—are surely destined to play a very important part in spreading useful knowledge and bringing the best writers within the reach of the great masses.

Two other Ma'arif publications deserve more than this brief reference: they are as-Saiyid Faraj's *Ḥarb as-Saḥra' al-Miṣriya* ("War in the Egyptian Desert") and *Fi Shimal Iṭrīqiya* ("In North Africa"), admirable studies of the victorious Allied campaigns in North Africa, remarkable alike for lucidity and complete absence of propaganda.

To bring these reviews to a close we call attention to a noteworthy history of journalism in Egypt, from its beginnings in 1798 down to the present day. Dr. Ibrāhīm 'Abduh of Cairo University gathers up in *Tatawwur as-ṣaḥāfa al-Miṣriya* the full harvest of a painstaking and accurate research, and provides us with a model for what one hopes may lead to a complete survey of the Press of all Arab countries; the political tendencies are understandable enough in a young nationalist.

UZBEK FOLKLORE

BY PROFESSOR VICTOR M. ZHIRMUNDSKY

(Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. and Director of the Folklore Section of the Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek S.S.R.)

THERE is a rich variety of works of Uzbek folklore. They include the ancient heroic epics and popular romances, fairy tales, stories and anecdotes of real life, ritual and lyrical songs, folk plays and popular games. The traditions of national art were greatly enriched by numerous contacts with foreign lands, such as the ancient world, Iran, the old cultures of India and China, and by the influence of Moslem culture which the Arab conquests introduced in Middle Asia. Within the framework of the enduring national tradition developed the individual art of gifted masters of folklore, such as the outstanding and highly popular story-tellers of our times—Ergash-Djumanbulbul-Ogly, Fazil Yuldashev, Hassan Hudai-Berdiev and Hussanbay Rasulev.

It was only after the October Revolution that a beginning was made to collect and study Uzbek folklore, since when a great deal has been accomplished by Uzbek scholars. The folklore library of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences, with the expert Professor Haddi Zarifov in charge, now includes over 80 *dastans* or epic poems, about 500 fairy-tales, over 600 songs and thousands of smaller folklore pieces. This material has been collected and recorded by folklore expeditions and individual collectors in the Samarkand and Bukhara Regions, in the Ferghana Valley, in Khoresm, in the environs of Tashkent and in various other parts of Uzbekistan. In recent years (1939-43) 13 epic poems and popular romances have been published in the press, and a collection of Uzbek folk tales, edited by the young scholar Buyuk Karimov, has appeared in book form in the Uzbek language and in a Russian translation.

The various genres of Uzbek folklore are represented in H. Zarifov's two-volume anthology of folklore (Tashkent, 1939-40), the second volume of which covers the Soviet epoch.

Of particular interest are the recordings and published versions of Uzbek folk epics, the very existence of which is truly a contemporary discovery, for until recently both Russian and West European scholars held the opinion that the Uzbek people had preserved none of its epics. It was thought that the influence of urban culture and classical literature had long ago put an end to the ancient art of the folk epic. However, at present we are in possession of scores of *dastans* on various subjects recorded in Uzbekistan. The Uzbek *dastans*, like the epic poems of most Turkic peoples, consist of verse parts alternating with prose. They are sung and told to the accompaniment of the *dombra*, a popular instrument resembling the lute. The best singers and story-tellers (known as *bakhshis*) have a repertory of from 20 to 30 such *dastans* of from 3 to 6 thousand lines each.

The subject matter of Uzbek folk epics is highly varied, and reflects the different social systems and modes of life that existed in Uzbekistan prior to the October Revolution—from the nomadic and semi-nomadic condition with the persisting survivals of patriarchal clan relationships to the refined culture of the old feudal town which developed in the course of centuries, as in Samarkand and Bukhara. In the repertory of the Uzbek folk singers we find the remarkable ancient heroic epic of the steppe nomads, "Alpamish," and the martial story, "Yusuf and Ahmed," of the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries, historic epics reflecting the eventful past of the peoples of Middle Asia ("Edigha," "Sheibani-Khan," etc.) and romantic *dastans*, in which the heroics of chivalrous feats and adventures are combined with love motifs and fantastic fairy-tale details. ("Kunugmish," the "Rustam-Khan" series, etc.) The romantic *dastans* are strongly reminiscent of the romances of Medieval Europe (e.g., King Arthur and His Knights of the Round Table), which succeeded the old heroic epics and betrayed the influence of book literature, such as the Persian adventure and love romances which were widely circulated in the Moslem East and the Persian and Uzbek "Popular Books" which developed from them.

Heroic and romantic motifs are combined in the poems of the Gorogly cycle recorded in Uzbekistan. The legends about Gorogly, or Ker-Ogly ("Son of a Blind Man") are widely known among the peoples of the Near East, Transcaucasia and Middle Asia. In the Middle Asian epos Gorogly is a legendary monarch, a wise ruler and a mighty hero and defender of his country. There are records of forty Uzbek *dastans* about Gorogly, in which are set forth the exploits of this popular hero, his adopted sons Avaz and Hassan, his grandsons Nurali and Ravshan and his great grandson Djakhanghir.

A number of Uzbek folk epics are now being translated into Russian. Some months ago a Russian translation of "Alpamish" was brought out in Tashkent. The poet V. Derzhavin is completing a translation of "Ravshan," a popular romance of the Gorogly series. A book, *Uzbek Heroic Folk Epics*, which I have written in partnership with the Uzbek folklore scholar, H. Zarifov, is scheduled to appear shortly, and a number of other publications on this subject are being prepared.

IN THE DESERTS OF KHWARIZM

BY PROFESSOR S. N. TOLSTOV

(Head of the Khwarizm Archaeological Expedition of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.)

THE fair, green oasis of Khwarizm, the "Central Asiatic Egypt," is a flourishing district nestling amongst the lower reaches of the Amu Darya (Oxus) like a fertile island in a sea of sand, an outpost of tilled earth driven deep into the endless desert and sandy plains of the Aralo-Caspian depression between the Kara Kum, the Black Sands, and the Kyzyl Kum, the Red Sands.

The people of Soviet Khwarizm, citizens of Kara Kalpak, the Khwarizm Region of Uzbekistan and the Tashauz Region of Turkmenia, are pushing ahead into the desert, winning new lands from the sandy wastes that encircle their oasis. Khwarizm is surrounded by wastelands of a special kind. For many dozens of miles to the east and west of the Khwarizm cultivated belt lie waterless sands where the traveller finds traces of the handiwork of man at every step.

The channels of ancient canals can be followed across the sand-swept "takyr," huge clay deposits in the desert, covered with scrub and thorn. Throughout the whole district, in some places with greater frequency than in others, one finds traces of buildings, isolated estates, fortified castles, villages and occasional large towns. Some have been levelled with the ground, others still have massive 30-foot mud walls and menacing towers with narrow embrasures.

In some places the ruins have been so well preserved that it is difficult to believe that one is in the desert and not in that prosperous, well-populated country of which the Arab geographer Yakut, who visited Khwarizm at the beginning of the thirteenth century, wrote:

"There are many isolated houses and castles in their fields. It is rare that your eyes fall on untilled land. There is no difference (in the density of the population) whether you are in a country district or in the market-places. I do not think there are such wide lands as those of Khwarizm anywhere in the whole world, or lands more densely populated."

I cannot forget the impression I received one evening when my Kazakh companion and I climbed to the top of the fortress tower at Angka-Kala, scoring on our way the steppe foxes that had found shelter there. Against the crimson background of a stormy sunset (there was a mighty sandstorm next day) there lay before us, between sand ridges lit with the sun's last rays, countless black silhouettes of the houses and towers of a dead oasis, Berkut Kala, 17 kilometres in extent from north to south; it

was the silhouette of a huge city, and only the deathly silence of the desert told us that life had left those lands which the sands had conquered.

The huge open spaces between the buildings were covered with traces of man's labour. Countless potsherds, splinters of ancient glass, the fragments of bronze ornaments, bronze arrow-heads, ancient seals with carved representations of horsemen, griffons, deer and birds, statuettes of horses, camels, monkeys, rhinoceroses and people in ancient raiment, coins minted 1,500 years ago by the Khwarizm Shahs and 2,000 years ago by the mighty Central Asiatic-Indian Empire of the Kushans who held all the lands from the Aral Sea to Benares under their sway—these are but a few of the finds in which the "land of ancient irrigation" of Khwarizm abounds.

An expedition under the command of the author has been working in this desert since 1937. The expedition was equipped by the Marr Institute of the History of Material Culture with the participation of a number of other Moscow, Leningrad, Tashkent, Ashkhabad and Turtkul Institutes. Amongst the organizations participating there are, in addition to the Marr Institute, the Uzbek Branch (now the Uzbek Academy) and the Turkmenian Branch of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., the State Hermitage Museum, the State Museum of History, the All-Union Academy of Architecture, the National Museum of the Kara Kalpak Autonomous Soviet Republic, and the Department of History of Moscow University; the expedition is continuing the study of Khwarizm begun by Yakubovsky (1928-29) and Voevodsky (1934).

The expeditions of 1937-38 greatly extended the territory worked on and the chronological periods covered by the previous expeditions, and added the study of monuments of a much earlier period of Khwarizm history to those already known which belonged, in the main, almost exclusively to the Moslem period (tenth to sixteenth centuries).

The first surveys, which Y. G. Gulyamov and A. I. Terenozhkin made in 1937, brought to light much new data on the history of Khwarizm in the sixth century—that is, on the eve of the Arab conquest when the Afrigid dynasty ruled in Khwarizm.

During the years that followed the work was extended, first on the right and then on the left bank of the Amu Darya, until the expedition had delved so deep into antiquity as to reach the early sources of the Khwarizm civilization and beyond, to a period of 5,000 years ago when primitive hunters and fishers lived in their conical communal houses amongst the sand dunes around the swampy lakes of the Amu Darya, and made their weapons from flint and bones.

During four years of field work the expedition covered 1,500 miles, registered and took down the descriptions of over 300 archaeological relics covering a period from the turn of the third and fourth millennia B.C. to the sixteenth century A.D.; fourteen of these objects became the scene of more or less extension excavations.

It is difficult to summarize this work in a short article, especially when the work is still continuing. Much is not yet clear and much remains to be studied. Something of what has been done, however, can be told.

Certain important historical conclusions are to be drawn from the traces of primitive early culture that have been found in Khwarizm. In the Bronze Age, Khwarizm and the contiguous Kara Kum and Kzyl Kum deserts formed part of the extensive "Bronze Age Steppe Culture," which included the whole area of the Ukrainian, Volga, Kazakhstan and South Siberian steppes. The culture of Khwarizm was closely akin to that of these districts, but was quite distinct from that of the foothill regions of Central Asia as typified by the Anau village and similar Bronze Age relics.

At the same time in the third and second millennia B.C., and even later, Khwarizm culture bears traces of the influence of Anau culture, while the later strata of Anau (known as Anau II. and III.) show the acquisition of elements of the "Steppe Culture" no doubt closely connected with Khwarizm. Even in the early epoch we see the rôle of Khwarizm as an important cultural link between the districts of Central and Anterior Asia on the one hand, and between the ancient peoples of Eastern Europe, Kazakhstan and Southern Siberia on the other, a rôle which Khwarizm continued to play throughout history.

The expedition proved that a series of ancient coins and a number of silver bowls and dishes dating back to the sixth century A.D. which were found in various parts of the Volga and Kama Basins came originally from Khwarizm, showing the extensive

economic and cultural relations between Khwarizm and the East European tribes. These relations are well known during the later period when they are recorded in writing. The Khwarizm warriors formed the flower of the guards recruited by the Khakhans of the Khazars.

Urgench, the Khwarizm capital, was an important entrepot in the trade between the lands of the Arab Caliphate and the territories settled by the Slavs and the Volga tribes. Makdisi, the tenth-century Arab writer, listed the articles imported from Khwarizm by the lands of the Caliphate—sable, ermine, polecat, weasel, marten, fox and beaver skins, honey, birch bark, and Slav slaves imported into Khwarizm from the land of the Volga Bulgars. Ibn Fadlan, a tenth-century Arab traveller who wrote the oldest description of our distant Slav ancestors, travelled to the Volga through Khwarizm.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Khwarizm played an exceptional rôle in the history of the peoples of the Volga Basin. At that time Khwarizm formed part of the country of the Golden Horde and, after recovering from the terrible results of the Mongol conquest, began to exercise a tremendous and varied influence on the towns of the Horde whose builders, artisans, artists and scientists either came from Khwarizm or followed Khwarizm prototypes. The research done by the expedition has thrown an entirely new light on these ancient links between the peoples of Eastern Europe and Khwarizm, bringing out much that is new in mediæval history.

Some thirty years ago Professor V. A. Gorodtsov, a Russian archaeologist, stated that then unknown ancient seats of culture in Central Asia must have played an important rôle in the formation of the Bronze Age cultural centres in Eastern Europe and Siberia. In 1939 we discovered a later neolithic culture in Khwarizm (turn of the fourth and third millennia B.C.), the oldest culture so far found in this region; it has been given the name of the Kelteminar culture and again brings to the fore the question of these relations, for it proved to be closely related to the Atanasiev culture of Southern Siberia, where a number of shells have been found such as are met with only at the mouth of the Amu Darya.

Another connecting link was discovered, equally interesting but not so important historically. The "Kelteminar" culture of Khwarizm gave us a number of finds connecting Khwarizm with the lands of the Indian Ocean. During the 1940 excavations we found a large number of ornaments made from shells which are found only in the Arabian Gulf, the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. Flint weapons, vessels with pointed bases and a stamped ornament remind one of the neolithic period of the Kama Basin, the Urals and Southern Siberia on the one hand, and the still little studied neolithic relics of Northern India on the other. Here we apparently have traces of extensive, ancient ethnic links dating back to the turn of the fourth and third millennia B.C. which gave rise to those common features which linguists long ago discovered in the pre-Aryan tongues of India, the Munda and Dravidian languages, and the Ugrian languages of the far north. It is possible that these links were a basis for the formation of the eastern (satem) branch of the Indo-European languages, which include the Slav languages, Latvian, Lithuanian, Indian, Iranian and Armenian languages.

These connections are not disrupted as time goes on. Indian motifs stand out clearly in Khwarizm art in the first centuries A.D. prior to the Arab conquest. The expedition discovered the penetration of Buddhism into Khwarizm in the Kushan period. The most obvious sign of Indian influence is a four-armed female deity used to ornament Khwarizmian dishes and seals in the sixth to eighth centuries A.D.

These are only the first steps in historical generalization, but they raise a number of important questions on the origin of many peoples in our country and show the deep-going and varied relations which existed between peoples of various regions in the most distant past.

An analysis of the material characterizing the Stone and Bronze Ages in Khwarizm enables us to raise the curtain on many aspects of the working and social life of the ancient inhabitants of that country.

At the turn of the fourth and third millennia B.C., the period of the "Kelteminar" neolithic culture, fishermen and hunters lived in settlements in the sand dunes and amongst the thick forest and reed jungles on the islands and banks of the Amu Delta.

These people lived in communal houses, oval in shape, 22 by 16 metres in area and 10 metres in height; the high conical roofs of these houses were supported by a complicated system of pillars and beams. In the centre of each house stood the sacred hearth, the fire on which was never allowed to go out; the site of this hearth was marked by a thick layer of pure white ash lying on sand that had been burnt red to a tremendous depth. The inhabitants of the communal house cooked their food at other hearths placed around the sacred fire. These are the early origins of the sacred fires of the Zoroastrians. This type of dwelling is also characteristic of Khwarizm in the Bronze and Early Iron Ages, the turn of the second and first millennia *a.c.* People still lived on the sand hills, for the land that was then being drained by canals was still too damp for habitation. Their houses, however, were strongly built and long in shape, stretching for dozens of metres along the crest of a hill and in design something like the famous "long houses" of the American Indians. This is the period of the primitive "hoe cultivation" of the soil, when irrigation was still unknown and the natural moisture of rain-watered land was used.

The greater part of the material obtained by the expedition, however, refers to a period much nearer to us, a time when the places of the primitive fishers and hunters of the Stone Age and the early tillers of the soil and herdsmen of the Bronze Age had been taken by fortified mud villages which raised their walls over huge canals, now dry, which irrigated the very extensive fields of ancient Khwarizm. This was the time when the rich and original civilization of ancient Khwarizm flourished, a civilization of which we had only the scanty, fragmentary information provided by ancient Persian inscriptions and Greek, Chinese and Iranian historical works, the sum total of which would not fill more than two printed pages with the history of Khwarizm.

We now know definitely that the great Khwarizmian canals were built in the eighth and seventh centuries *a.c.*, the period when the Khwarizm state first arose. There is every reason to believe that this was the formative period of the powerful but little known kingdom whose existence was indicated by J. Marquart and W. Tarn, and which is known traditionally to the Iranians as Airyan-Vejo, Kangha and Khwarizm, and in Chinese traditions as Kang-Kiu. This state, which went through endless periods of rise and decline and carried on a fierce economic, diplomatic and armed struggle with its powerful neighbours, retained its geographical nucleus, Khwarizm and the lower reaches of the Syr Darya (Jazartes), at times extended its power over Sogdiana, the Middle Syr Darya, part of Khorassan and the distant north-western districts—Southern Urals, the Volga and Azov districts—and was the prototype and centre of the great state of the Khwarizm-Shahs in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a state which fell a victim to that terrible catastrophe, the Mongol invasion.

The most ancient record of this forgotten kingdom is the so-called "city of dwelling walls," a huge fortified settlement the whole interior of which, a space of about a square kilometre, was devoid of all buildings and served as a gigantic cattle-pen. The people lived in dark, narrow, passage-like rooms with arched ceilings, built in several rows in the thickness of the city walls; the walls were in places as much as 18 metres thick.

This kind of dwelling corresponds exactly to the famous "Square Vara," the legendary village built by the mythical Yima of the Avesta on the orders of Aghura Mazda.

Pictographic and hieroglyphic inscriptions which we found on the cliffs of the north-western spurs of the Sultan Wizdag Mountains in 1940 apparently also belong to this or, perhaps, to an earlier period. Some of the symbols of these inscriptions are associated with the early Indian writing on the seals found at Mahenjo Daro and with the Hittite and early Elamite hieroglyphic writings.

The expedition established the fact that the ancient Khwarizmian civilization reached its height during the period of the Kushan Empire, which was established as a result of the Central Asiatic peoples against the rule of the Graeco-Macedonian conquerors; the Kushan Empire extended its power beyond the bounds of Central Asia to Northern India and Sinkiang. The comparative study of royal seals and some other data shows that the ruling dynasty of the Kushan Empire was a branch of the ancient Khwarizm-Kang-Kiu dynasty, the Siyavushidæ.

By the first and second centuries A.D., the most brilliant period in the history of the Kushan Empire, the irrigation system of Khwarizm reached its highest point of development. The canals greatly exceeded in number those later employed by medieval Khwarizm and penetrated far into the desert. Numerous towns sprung up along the banks of these canals. Delicate porcelain work, numerous and varied statuettes of human beings and animals, made in a style which combined local traditions with a strong Græco-Buddhist influence (the latter's formation was closely connected with the Kushan Empire), carved stone seals with representations of deer wounded by an arrow, griffons, horsemen and hippokampos, speak of an original and very high development of art and a highly developed industrial craftsmanship in ancient Khwarizm in this period.

Rich material for the social and economic history of ancient Khwarizm is provided by a study of the types of ancient Khwarizmian settlements.

The oldest of them, dating back to the pre-Kushan period—that is, the last centuries B.C.—shows that the ruling type of settlement was a village fortified with rammed earthen walls which served as the dwelling-place of one or more clan-communities. The communal form of social life still prevailed as it did in the "city of dwelling walls," although the type of dwelling had changed, apparently on account of the declining importance of animal husbandry as compared with farming. The ruins of Djanbas-Kala in the Kara Kalpak Autonomous Republic are a very good instance of this type of settlement.

This township covers an area of 10 acres and consisted of two huge dwellings, each with several dozen rooms. We are unable to find any signs of this having been divided into separate houses in any way. This division into two blocks of dwellings is characteristic of other settlements, so that it is most probable that the Khwarizmian community of that time still retained the division into two phratrii which is common to all primitive peoples. The special centre of the settlement was the "fire house," a building, with mighty rammed earth walls, which combined the functions of village temples where the sacred fire was kept burning, a place of assembly and a place for public feasts.

During the most prosperous period of the Kushan Empire this archaic type of settlement was replaced by a new one, which shows the tremendous advances which had taken place in the social organization of ancient Khwarizm; the leading type of settlement now is the family dwelling, an extensive fortified house with a large number of rooms for the patriarchal family community, fronted by a big courtyard surrounded by brick walls. The patriarchal family dwellings were erected close to one another forming extensive settlements. Amongst the dwellings of the clan there are separate houses built on the same plan but of enormous size, obviously evidence of the rise of a powerful aristocracy who, however, still did not form a class antagonistic to the inhabitants of the clan dwellings.

The relics of the next historical period reveal the tragic story of the fall of the Kushan Empire, the decline and collapse of the patriarchal, slave-owning social system of ancient Khwarizm and the rise of the first stages of the new feudal order, a picture which is still not illustrated by archaeological material and which had to be guessed, there being no written records at all of this period.

Political, social, economic and cultural processes go hand in hand. The cultivated belt becomes much smaller. Hundreds of thousands of acres of land, especially on the left bank of the Amu Darya, were again conquered by the desert. The towns grow empty. The political relations between Khwarizm and the decaying Kushan Empire are broken off. In Khwarizm the Afrighid dynasty came to power; this was a branch of the ancient local dynasty of the "Khwarizm Khosrows," Siyavusheds related to the great Kushans of India, to the Parthian Arsakid dynasty and, as a comparative study of royal seals on coins has shown, to the Aspurgian dynasty of the Crimea. Later Khwarizmian literature speaks of Afrigh, who founded the younger branch of the Siyavushed dynasty in the fourth century A.D., as a cruel despot who ruled the country from within the walls of a mighty castle at Fir on the banks of the Amu Darya.

Evidence of political changes is given by the large number of locally minted Khwarizmian coins, issued by the Afrighids up to the tenth century, which are found

together with Kushan coins. These coins, by the way, are the earliest examples extant of Khwarizmian writing, and some results have already been obtained in efforts to decipher them.

Architecture at this period underwent great changes. In place of the large villages with their big family houses we have strongly fortified castles situated at some distance from each other; they had high towers with living-rooms in them, and strong, rammed earth walls. The family of the lord lived in the upper rooms of the tower, entrance to which could be effected only across a drawbridge leading from a smaller tower built to one side of the high tower. Light entered the gloomy rooms of the tower only through the narrow slits of the embrasures. The aristocracy lived in castles similar in design but much larger and more strongly fortified; the castles of the aristocracy were more luxuriously decorated both inside and out.

The most effective in this respect was a seventh or eighth century castle which we excavated in 1938 at Teshik Kala. The tower is 16 metres high, and is decorated with half columns surmounted by semi-circular arches; the upper part of the walls is decorated with earthen friezes with archaic and simple ornaments consisting of alternate eight-leaved rosettes and five-leaved palmettes.

This was not a state of feudalism, for the dwelling of the cultivator and that of the aristocrat differed from each other only in size; the cultivators lived behind the walls of manor houses fortified like castles. The economy of the aristocracy is still based on slave labour; the slaves lived in the numerous buildings in the courtyards of the castles. The traditions of the patriarchal community were still retained. One sign of this is the continuation of the custom of burying the bones of all the dead of one family, after the flesh had rotted away, in one large alabaster ossuary which was kept in one of the rooms of the tower of the castle or manor house.

The social life of the Afrighid epoch, however, shows us that the country was on the threshold of feudalism. The fortifications, both of the castles of the aristocracy and the manor houses of the cultivator, show a weakening of the central political power, frequency of the raids of the nomad tribes, Hun-Ephthalites and Turks, and tense internal social contradictions, a fierce struggle between the aristocracy and the still free peasantry. As soon as Khwarizm and the other Central Asiatic states of that period came within the orbit of written records, we learn that there is a sharp class struggle in progress. I would mention in this respect my own paper on facts furnished by Persian, Arabian and Chinese sources concerning the democratic movement in the Bokhara Oasis at the end of the sixth century (*Istoricheskiye Zapiski*, No. 3, 1938). I must also mention the Arab writer Tabari, who said that in 712, when Arab troops appeared in Khwarizm, the country was in the throes of a fierce civil war.

Cities of a new type began to appear towards the end of the Afrighid era; they grew up under the walls of the castles of the more powerful aristocrats (Berkut Kala).

It is interesting to note that the isolated geographical position of Khwarizm led to its retaining the ancient Hellenic-Kushan cultural traditions longer than other districts; the new influences of Sassanid Iran did not make themselves felt immediately. This is seen with great clarity in the Khwarizmian coins, which retained, until the fifteenth century, their early Kushan form, which in turn came from the Græco-Bactrian civilization; other evidence is to be found in Khwarizmian art, which continued in the old Indo-Buddhist traditions. The figure of the four-armed goddess is found on seals and bowls of the seventh and eighth centuries, and statuettes of the rhinoceros were found in an eighth-century castle.

Khwarizmian art of this period, formed at the time of constant alarms and fierce internal and external wars which determined the "castle civilization" of the Afrighid epoch, was characterized by Makdisi in the tenth century as follows: "They are a people of intelligence, science, gifted and educated . . . a hospitable people, brave and strong in battle . . . but they are reticent, have no elegance, brilliance or finesse."

The next historical stage covered by our researches is the period of Khwarizm's second rise to power, when the country rose from the position of a small vassal state to that of a mighty Eastern empire, when the power of Khwarizm's capital, Urgench, spread from the Aral Sea to the Indus and from Iran to Ferghana.

The work of the expeditions shows that the empire founded by the Khwarizm

Shahs was not the result of an accidental combination of political forces; the way was paved by a lengthy period of economic and political progress which made Khwarizm a flourishing country, of which Yakut wrote, "one of the richest and most civilized countries of the east."

Once again the lands that had been abandoned since ancient times came under cultivation. The cultivated belt, especially on the left bank of the Amu Darya, moved forward dozens of miles into the desert, although it still did not reach the bounds of the cultivated area of antiquity. The old towns flourished and new ones were built. Along the Amu Darya, on the roads to Merv, Bokhara and Balkh, many forts and caravanserais were built to ensure Khwarizmian rule over the main strategic and trade roads to the south. Khwarizmian outposts extended far into the Kara Kum; there is, for example, a unique fortress of hewn stone blocks at Dew-Kala, in the very heart of the Kara Kum.

The type of settlement again changed. In place of the fortified manor houses and castles we find the fortified houses of the peasantry of feudal Khwarizm grouped around the castles of the aristocracy. The latter, however, were not so strongly fortified as before. The growth of political centralization, the increase of the external political power of Khwarizm made the menacing fortress of Afrighid times unnecessary.

Again one recalls the words of Yakut: "The majority of the settlements of Khwarizm are towns with markets, all conveniences and shops. A settlement without a market-place is a rare thing. All this in an atmosphere of general security and complete serenity."

The evidence offered by the Arab scientist must not, however, be overestimated. Khwarizm in the period of the "Great Khwarizm Shahs" was no stranger to sharp class conflicts and feudal dissension. Compared with the Afrighid times, however, the epoch of general progress and prosperity in feudal Khwarizm must be regarded as a peaceful period which enabled Khwarizm to assume a dominant position in an Eastern world that was torn with feudal dissension.

Behind its rampart of deserts, at the junction of main trade routes, the fertile oasis of Khwarizm had every opportunity of becoming what it became under the Khwarizm Shahs Atsyys, Tekesh and Muhammed.

The severe lines of Afrighid architecture gave way to lighter and more graceful forms. Houses with high arched entrances, with fine carvings on the clay walls, took the place of warlike castles. The massive proportions of the Afrighid semi-columns were abandoned for the lighter and more graceful columns which ornamented the houses of the time of the Khwarizm Shahs.

The simple forms of the vessels changed to rich and varied porcelain ware with multicoloured ornaments. This was a new epoch, a new civilization, and only a detailed analysis of the finds made showed that it was the successor to Afrighid Khwarizm.

The catastrophe of the Mongol invasion destroyed the civilization of the Khwarizm renaissance. Again the fields became bare and the canals dried up, again the dead cities fell into ruin. Only the north-western part of Khwarizm, the territory around Urgench, continued to develop the mediæval Khwarizm civilization during the time of the Golden Horde. Even here, by the end of the fourteenth century, Timur's bloody punitive expedition put an end to that development.

"TAKUNGPAO" OR "THE IMPARTIAL"

THE STORY OF A CHINESE NEWSPAPER

By HSIAO CH'EN

ON May 15, 1941, the University of Missouri conferred an award for the "best foreign newspaper of the year" on a Chinese paper called the *Takungpao*. This aroused nation-wide excitement, for it was the first time that a Chinese newspaper had won such recognition abroad. On that day the paper affirmed in a leading article a fundamental difference between the policy of the Chinese Press and the Press of other countries. Chinese journalism is primarily an instrument for the expression of scholarly opinion about national affairs, and not a vehicle for commercial enterprise. This is both its strength and its weakness, and it is a feature which *Takungpao* will, like other newspapers in China, always try to preserve. The article addressed itself to journalists in the West, stressing the fact that the spread of culture, the preservation of human liberty and the building of the peaceful world would largely depend upon the close co-operation between journalists of all nations.

Just three years after the publication of this article, the paper has established simultaneously offices in New York and London, the first ever set up overseas by a Chinese newspaper. By this means the paper will enable the Chinese public to keep in close touch with their friends and comrades-in-arms of the democracies, at a time when the future of the world is being redesigned.

The London office is at 40-43, Fleet Street, E.C. 4 (Central 2949). The correspondent (who is the present writer) was the literary editor of the paper from 1935 to 1939 and he has already begun to send reports by airmail and cable. The service has been established because of the international outlook of the *Takungpao* ever since its inauguration, and because of its belief in the intimate connection between the future of China and that of the rest of the world.

In 1941 Mr. Guntherstein, formerly the *Manchester Guardian* correspondent in China, made an estimate of the amount of foreign news contained in the Chungking daily papers. He calculated that half of the matter in the news columns of the *Takungpao* concerned foreign affairs, and the proportion equally holds good of its leading articles. It may not be irrelevant to mention here that Mr. Hu Lin, the present managing director, who came to Britain in 1943 as one of the five members of the Goodwill Mission, was the first Chinese journalist to go abroad, when he attended the Peace Conference after the last war as representative of the Chinese Press. He has been strongly impressed with the power of public opinion in this country and he believes, as do many of his colleagues, that the main hope for peace in the future rests on the unity of world public opinion.

The *Takungpao* first appeared in 1901, ten years before the birth of the Republic, and one year after the tragic Boxer Rebellion, when the Chinese people, amid chaos and humiliation, came to the bitter realization that the Manchu dynasty, corrupt and bigoted as it was, was no longer fit to rule the nation. The paper was founded by Mr. Ying Lien-chih, a leading Chinese Catholic. For twenty-five years it ran smoothly, without being in any way an outstanding publication. In 1925, however, a fresh start was made when the paper came under the management of Messrs. Wu Ting-chang, Hu-Lin and the late Chang Chih-chang, whose death two years ago was mourned by the whole nation. Since then the *Takungpao* has modernized its technique, crystallized its policy, and formulated a tradition. It has not gained its reputation for independence without danger. The editorial policy of the paper has more than once been opposed to that of the Government of the day. In its early days Mr. Ying, the founder, strongly opposed the all-powerful Dowager Empress. In the early years of the Republic, when the ambitious Yuan Shih-kai tried to reinstate

the Chinese monarchy, with himself on the throne, he was vigorously attacked by the paper. He ordered the arrest of the editor, who, however, barely managed to escape. Another Royalist, Chang Hsun, was attacked with equal courage. During the last war the paper advocated Chinese participation on the side of the Allies.

The original home of the paper was in Tientsin, a prosperous commercial centre in Northern China, situated eighty miles south-east of Peking. However, in 1935 the political atmosphere of Northern China had become oppressive, owing to the influence of the Japanese. It was realized that Japan, in order to enslave the Chinese people, must first destroy this most influential instrument of patriotic opinion. The party of appeasers in North China (who later became the Chinese Quislings) feared the staunch voice of the paper so much that they ordered the Post Office to cease delivery of the *Takungpao*, and the police to forbid its sale in the streets. However, clerks and postmen were so sympathetic to the views of the paper that they defied the order and continued its delivery. In April, 1936, the Shanghai edition appeared, while the Tientsin edition still carried on under the most risky conditions. Since that time the *Takungpao* has stood by the wartime tradition that the paper, while making every effort to assure its continued existence, should never evacuate a city until the military themselves had withdrawn. Then, on July 7, 1937, came the shelling by the Japanese at the Marco Polo Bridge. The Tientsin edition appeared until the last possible moment, while in Shanghai the paper became one of the loudest voices in the resistance movement, especially during the five months of stiff fighting in Shanghai. When at last the great port of central China became untenable, a few members of the paper's staff were sent to Hankow, which was then the wartime capital, until Generalissimo Chiang made Chungking the centre of resistance. The Hankow edition appeared in September, 1937, amidst the applause of the people of Central China, while the Shanghai edition went on heroically until the last day of the fighting. China was then playing for time, taking advantage of her vast territories to keep up a war of attrition. In 1938 Hankow was again in danger. While the paper carried on its work in the face of heavy bombing, the Hongkong edition was revived, and continued until the day when, after Pearl Harbour, Hongkong fell into enemy hands. Unlike the successful withdrawals elsewhere, the whole staff of the paper, from the managing director, Mr. Hu Lin, to the printers, in all over 100 people, virtually fell into enemy hands. After incredible risks and hardships the entire staff managed, at different times, to make their escape under the nose of the Japanese invaders. To do this involved a journey, on foot, of hundreds of miles. The Chungking edition appeared in 1938 and the Kweilin in March, 1941.

These two cities have been as heavily bombed as any in Free China, and all the members of the paper's staff suffered the maximum dangers and hardships. When the Burma Road fell into the hands of the Japanese conditions became even worse.

It is impossible at this stage to estimate the loss of valuable equipment and machinery, paper stocks and irreplaceable reference books suffered by the paper as a whole since the beginning of the war. Once, over 150 tons of newsprint was lost on its way up the Yangtse from Shanghai to Hankow. Large stocks of newsprint were also lost during the heavy raids on Ichang. The Chungking office has received four separate direct hits, and almost the whole of the equipment salvaged from Hongkong was lost in a raid on Shaokwan. But as long as the love of freedom and the desire for independence persist among the Chinese people, the *Takungpao* will run any risk, conquer any difficulty, in order to carry out its function.

The paper is under the management of the *Takungpao Co., Ltd.*, with a board of directors responsible to the shareholders. The managing director is Mr. Hu Lin, a member of the people's Political Council. There is one chief editor and one chief manager for each of the two editions, one in Chungking, covering the north-west, and one in Kweilin, covering the south-west of Free China. Both head offices have two departments, editorial and management, and the paper has branch offices in all the important cities in China, with special correspondents stationed all over the country and in India and Burma. The actual number of readers of a Chinese newspaper is often several times larger than the circulation figure, owing to the fact that papers are shared not only amongst families, but amongst communities. Often newspapers are pasted on the walls in small towns. Owing to Government restrictions

and shortage of newsprint, the daily circulation in November, 1943, was 66,059; even so, this is undoubtedly the largest circulation of all China's wartime newspapers.

One of the best known traditions of the paper is its strict adherence to the highest code of ethics in the publication of advertisements. While rejecting many paying advertisements of the non-essential type, it frequently offers space, free or at a reduced rate, to national causes, such as the Red Cross or Famine Relief Fund. Since the paper regards post-war industrial co-operation with Britain and America as of major importance in the reconstruction of China and to the stability of peace in the future, the paper is prepared to devote a part of its daily 562 square inches to advertisements likely to further such co-operation, especially those of engineering and machine tool firms.

At the present time the paper issues a daily single sheet of four pages, with an additional half-sheet on Sundays. Each day, in addition to a leader, two or more special articles appear, either by outside experts or by its own correspondents at home and abroad. A number of these special features have also been published in English translations.

Although in the West one may object to a newspaper with too academic an air, in a country like China, where education is not yet widespread, a newspaper acts as a kind of focus for adult education. Recognizing this demand in peacetime the *Takungpao* issued a number of supplements, some appearing once a week, some fortnightly. Among these were "History and Geography," "Education of Today," "The Economic Weekly," "Modern Medicine," "Fine Arts," a children's page and a women's page. Each supplement was edited by an expert, in some cases a university professor. The Literary Supplement appeared every day and was responsible for the discovery of many promising writers, as well as establishing, in 1938, the first Literary Prize in China. Today, although other supplements have been suspended, the Literary Supplement is still in existence. In addition to regular supplements, the publication department has issued books from time to time, including *China and Japan in the Last Six Years*, a monumental work in six volumes, by Mr. Wang Yun-sheng, chief editor of the Chungking edition, and, much earlier, *Journey Through Soviet Russia*, by Mr. Tsao Ku-ping, manager of the head office. The *Takungpao* was the first newspaper in China to provide a link between the academic and journalistic worlds. Ever since 1934 the paper has devoted editorial space on Sundays to comments or essays by university professors and national authorities on matters not necessarily of immediate topical interest, and this practice has been maintained throughout the war period.

CYPRUS: AN HISTORICAL RETROSPECT

By SIR HARRY LUKE, K.C.M.G., D.LITT.

CYPRUS may claim the greatest length of continuous history, political and artistic, in the British Colonial Empire, a recorded history longer than that of Ceylon, longer even than that of Malta with its Stone Age temples. Its annals go back to the reigns of Thothmes III. of Egypt about the middle of the fifteenth century a.c. and Sargon II. of Assyria in the eighth, while the cylinder of Esarhaddon in the British Museum brings Cypriote history down to 670 a.c. The Old Testament name Kittim is applied to Cyprus as a whole no less than to the town of Kition (Citium), the modern Larnaca, in particular, that Kition which was not only to become the principal centre of Phœnician influence in the island but the birthplace of Zeno, the founder of the Stoic School of Philosophy. There are references to Cyprus in Homer, both in the *Odyssey* and in the *Iliad*. Cyprus was already artistically prominent in the early Bronze Age; its pre-history recedes into the mythology of Western Asia and Eastern Europe and its mythology into some of the earliest beliefs of the human race.

In one important respect Cyprus resembles Ceylon and differs fundamentally from

verbial in Europe. And by no one was the note sounded more vigorously than by the monarch under whom the Lusignan Kingdom attained the summit of its reputation, King Peter I., who reigned from 1359 to 1369. Filled with Crusading ardour, Peter twice went the round of the Courts of Europe to collect money for the recovery of the Holy Land, and the ten years of his reign were filled with a variety of picturesque—and often tragic—incidents with which the Middle Ages afford no parallel. Vowed from the days before his accession, when he was still Count of Tripoli, to a perpetual Crusade against the Saracens, he commemorated his vow in his Order of the Sword, whose motto was "Pour loiauté maintenir." In 1362 he set out on his first journey to the rulers of Christendom and, after visiting the Pope, the Emperor and the King of France, crossed the Channel to enlist the aid of the Kings of England and Scotland. Froissart, to whom we are primarily indebted for our detailed knowledge of Peter's wanderings, describes the King's visit to London, where he was well received by Edward III. and Queen Philippa. Edward gave him a ship named the *Katharine*; Philippa offered him handsome presents; and, like royal visitors of a later age, he was dined by the Mayor of the City.

Returning to the East after an odyssey of nearly three years, Peter swooped down upon Egypt, the stronghold of Arah power, and by a brilliant *sour de main* seized Alexandria, though he held it for only one day. Again he went on his travels, undaunted by the ephemeral nature of his triumph, but was recalled by troubles at home, fomented by his wife and some of his barons. His murder by these was a sad ending to a career of great promise and considerable achievement; and not ill-deserved was the kindly judgment passed upon him by Chaucer :

"O worthy Petro, King of Cypre, also,
That Alisaundre wan by heigh maistrye,
Ful many a hethen wroghtes tow ful wo,
Of which thyn owne liges hadde envye,
And, for no thing but for thy chivalrye,
They in they bedde han slayn thee by the morwe.
Thus can fortune hir wheel governe and gye,
And out of loye bring men to sorwe."

The Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus endured until 1489, when Venice compelled Queen Katharine Cornaro, the Venetian-born widow of King James II. and mother and successor of his posthumous son James III., who died conveniently for Venice in infancy, to abdicate in her favour. The Serene Republic, increasingly alarmed at the growing strength of the Ottoman Empire, decided that Cyprus must be re-fortified and held as her eastern outpost against the Turkish menace; and she held it from 1489 until it was taken from her in 1571 by Lala Mustafa, General of Sultan Selim II. Thenceforth Turkish direct sovereignty was maintained over the island until the British occupation in 1878, its suzerainty until 1914, when it was ended by Turkey's entry into the war on the side of the Central Powers and the annexation of Cyprus, for the second time, to the British Crown.

Cyprus is distant 40 miles from the nearest point of Asia Minor, 60 miles from the coast of Syria, 260 miles from Egypt, and by reason of its geographical position has received, as we have seen, the impress of many peoples and many civilizations. The most enduring element among these, in speech and blood, has proved to be that imported in antiquity by Ionian* Greek settlers; and at the time of the Turkish conquest the native population was Greek in religion and language except for small Latin, Maronite, Armenian, Coptic and Jacobite colonies, the first three of whom have survived to this day. But there has been no Greek-speaking ruler of the island since Isaac Comnenus disappeared in 1191; between then and 1571 it was in the hands of a small ruling class of Latins, French in the Lusignan period, Italian in the Venetian, superimposed upon the Greek-speaking Orthodox Cypriotes. Socially, as we have seen, the principal characteristic of the Lusignan Kingdom, brilliant as it was if regarded solely from a Frankish standpoint, was the subordination of the native

* The Turkish word for "Greek" is *Yunan* (Ionian).

peasantry to the French feudal aristocracy; ecclesiastically, the policy of the Lusignans was similar—namely, to subordinate the autocephalous Orthodox Church of the people to the Church of the ruling race. Roman Catholic sees were endowed with property taken from the Orthodox bishoprics, and a series of acts of oppression culminated in 1260 in the issue of Pope Alexander IV. of the *Bulla Cyprica*, whereby the Latin Archbishop was made the supreme ecclesiastical chief of Latins and Orthodox alike. All tithes were made over to the Latin clergy; the Orthodox Archbishopric was suppressed; such of the Orthodox bishops as were suffered to continue in office were relegated from their cathedral towns to distant villages and compelled to take the oath of obedience to the Latin bishops who had ousted them. The Venetians, whose eighty-two years of rule in Cyprus was little more than a military occupation, preserved the principles upon which their predecessors, the Lusignans, had governed the island; so that it was no cause for wonder that the Orthodox turned to the Sultan for deliverance and that the Greek inhabitants everywhere welcomed the invading Turks, who were freeing them from the detested Latins. Nearly a century and a quarter earlier, when the Byzantine Empire was at its last gasp with its capital almost in the hands of the encircling Turks, a similar phenomenon had been seen in that capital itself: "Rather the turban in Constantinople," had proclaimed the Great Duke Lucas Notaras in 1452, "than the hat of a Roman Cardinal." Eye-witnesses bear testimony to the sympathy which the conquering Turkish forces received from the Cypriotes, and Fra Angelo Calepio, Superior of the Dominicans in Cyprus, who was taken prisoner by the Turks after the capture of the capital, Nicosia, relates that it was a Cypriote who hauled down from the palace the standard of St. Mark and hoisted the Ottoman ensign in its place.

The conquerors for their part, while showing no mercy to the Latins, treated the Cypriotes with the consideration that their goodwill toward them had merited. They assured to them the free enjoyment of their religion, with the undisturbed possession of their churches; gave them permission to acquire houses and land, with the power of transmission to their heirs; and recognized the supremacy of the Orthodox community over all other Christian denominations in the island. So uncompromising a hater of the Turks as the eighteenth-century Cypriote historian, the Archimandrite Kyprianos, is compelled to admit that "the Greeks, who to a certain extent preferred to be subject to the Ottoman, rather than to a Latin, power, were even glad in their wretchedness, because so far as concerned their rites and customs, they escaped the tyranny of the Latins." In view of the long series of subsequent complaints, in part well founded, of Turkish misgovernment in Cyprus, it is well to bear in mind that at the very outset of their administration the Turks granted to the Orthodox inhabitants two boons far outweighing the drawbacks of oppressive taxation and partial administration of justice. They abolished serfdom, under which the peasantry had groaned even during the Byzantine domination; and they restored the Orthodox Archbishopric, which a Christian Church had caused to be in abeyance for three hundred years. "Those who for centuries had been mere bondmen on the soil," says Hackett, the historian of the Church of Cyprus, "were now on payment of a trifling sum constituted its possessors, with the right of succession to their descendants." This was a change in the status of the majority of the population far greater than any they had known before; and the restoration of the Archbishopric had results almost equally important.

The Church of Cyprus, while forming, like the Churches of Russia, Greece, Yugoslavia, Rumania and several others, a portion of the "Holy Orthodox Eastern Church," is, as are those Churches, "autocephalous and isotimous." It enjoys, that is to say, the right of electing its own head, the Archbishop, and it is independent of outside ecclesiastical authority. Next, in fact, to the four original Patriarchates of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, the Cypriote Church is the senior of the autocephalous Churches, owing this position to its Apostolic foundation by SS. Paul and Barnabas and to the confirmation of its independence by the Emperor Zeno in the year 478. On this occasion Zeno conferred upon the Cypriote Primate certain privileges enjoyed by no other ecclesiastic, privileges which have been jealously retained to the present day. They include the right of signing in red ink, a prerogative shared only with the Emperor himself, of wearing a cope of imperial purple, and

of carrying an imperial sceptre in place of a pastoral staff; whence it will be seen that the Archbishop of Cyprus, although his Church is small, enjoys an exceptional status in the Orthodox world.

During the Turkish régime the Archbishop represented to his own flock on a smaller scale that which the Patriarch of Constantinople represented to the generality of the Orthodox in Turkey. That is to say, he was not only the spiritual chief of the Orthodox Cypriotes; he became the ethnarch, the political and national representative of his people in its relations with the Ottoman Government. By an astonishing reversal of fortune the Archbishops of Cyprus, whose office had been recreated by the Turks after lying dormant for three hundred years, secured in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the supreme power and authority over the island, and at one time wielded influence greater than that of the Turkish Pasha himself.

The conquest of 1571 introduced into Cyprus, the bulk of whose inhabitants had hitherto been, as we have seen, Greek in religion and language, an important element of Ottoman Turks. The first Turkish settlers were principally drawn from Lala Mustafa's soldiers, who were given fiefs in the island by the Sultan Selim, and these were reinforced from time to time by Turkish immigration from Asia Minor and Turkey in Europe. The first Muslim invaders of Cyprus, the Arabs, although their raids continued intermittently from the seventh to the tenth centuries, had long since faded away; but the Turks were to become a solid and permanent factor in the island's population. It has sometimes been assumed erroneously that the Turks of Cyprus are Greek-speaking Greeks converted to Islam, as are the Muslims of Crete. On the contrary, the Muslims of Cyprus are pure Turks, and nowhere in the Turcophone world was the Turkish language spoken in a purer form than by the Cypriote Turks until the Atatürk and his Government purified the language of Turkey itself and freed it of those heavy layers of Arabic and Persian which had almost succeeded in stifling the original Turanian speech. The Turks of Cyprus have refrained from intermarriage with their Orthodox compatriots; the two communities meet but do not mingle. On the other hand, the relations between them, if not intimate, have generally been, on the whole, quite amicable. Under Ottoman rule the Turkish peasant of Cyprus was subject to the same trials and tribulations at the hands of the Government as was his Christian neighbour; when the power of the Archbishops was at its height, he felt the effects of their supremacy no less than the Orthodox peasant, with whom he was quite capable of combining against the common oppressor, be he Turkish Pasha or Orthodox prelate. The Turks of Cyprus, observed the English traveller William Turner in his *Journal of a Tour in the Levant*, published in 1820, "have no greater privileges than the Greek Christians, at which they are constantly expressing great discontent."

Turner was but one of many British travellers in the Levant in the course of the centuries whose accounts of Cyprus have been collected into one volume by the industry of the late Mr. C. D. Cobham, for many years Commissioner of Larnaca, in his valuable *Excerpta Cypria*. Nor have such travellers been the only links between Britain and Cyprus since the island's capture by King Richard I. and the coronation at Limasol of Queen Berengaria. The visit to England of King Peter I. in 1364, already mentioned, has a permanent memorial in the large historical painting in the Royal Exchange depicting the banquet at which he and four fellow-Kings were entertained by the Mayor of London, Henry Picard, Vintner. In English literature Cyprus has been immortalized in Shakespeare's greatest tragedy, for the "seaport in Cyprus," where is laid the scene of *Othello*, was that once flourishing city of Famagusta, of whose brilliant history in the Middle Ages something has been said above. A less dramatic but more enduring link was provided by the English Levant Company, whose Consulate in Cyprus was already established by 1626. The English Levant merchants resided in Larnaca, the seat of the Consulate; and the Levant Company continued to appoint the Consuls until 1825, when it surrendered its Charter to the King, British Consular Officers in the Ottoman Empire being appointed thereafter by the Government. A British Consul continued to reside in Larnaca until the British occupation in July, 1878.

It is not proposed to trace here the story of events in Cyprus since the British occupation of 1878. It is the beginning of the latest chapter of a long history that

has shown no uniform development but has been a kaleidoscopic succession of episodes enacted by men of different continents, different races, different faiths and different aims in an island whose population has always been mixed. And it is because the history of Cyprus has been of this type—a type common enough in territories once part of the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires—that there has not grown up as yet a Cypriote national consciousness as there is, for example, a Maltese or a Welsh national consciousness. The population of Cyprus according to the census of 1931 was 347,959, of whom 283,562 were Christians, mainly members of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus, and 64,238 were Turks. The estimated total population in 1940 was 383,967. Although the first three decades of the twentieth century saw the development among the Orthodox intelligentsia of Cyprus of a movement for incorporation in the Greek State, such a conception was unknown to the ancient Greek colonies established around the Mediterranean, to some of which the present Greek community of Cyprus owes its origin. From their foundation the colonies of ancient Greece were *ex hypothesi* self-governing cities having no political tie with the mother-city; and it is pertinent to remember, so far as Cyprus is concerned, that the island has had no part in any Greek political or national unit since Isaac Comnenus, himself a Greek, broke away from the Byzantine Empire in 1184. The appeal of the movement for union with Greece is to the sentiment of common descent, faith, language and culture with the Greeks of Greece cherished by its supporters. That sentiment naturally finds no sympathy among the substantial Turkish minority.

MYSORE'S BUDGET

THE Budget estimates for 1944-45 presented on May 27, 1944, by Pradhana Siromani Mr. N. Madhava Rau, Dewan of Mysore, to the Mysore Representative Assembly at its present session were remarkable in more than one respect. The gross revenue from all sources for the coming year is estimated at Rs. 818.01 lakhs and the total expenditure at Rs. 816.08 lakhs, leaving a surplus of Rs. 1.93 lakhs. This position of great financial prosperity has not been due, wholly, to the fortuitous circumstances created by war conditions. It is due, to a large extent, to careful planning in the past years, specially in the field of development of the industrial and economic resources of the State.

On the expenditure side, the Budget statement is admitted on all hands as a model one, the primary object of which is ultimately to pass the benefits of prosperous finances on to the people in the most equitable manner possible. This will be evident from a mere recital of certain essential facts. The total provision made in the Budget for education is Rs. 95.55 lakhs, which represents about one-eighth of the total revenue of the State. The question of converting important trunk roads into cement-concrete roads is under consideration, and a sum of Rs. 15 lakhs has been provided for this purpose. Three reservoirs and one anicut have been completed, and the construction of twenty-one other major irrigation works is in progress. These works involve a total outlay of Rs. 56½ lakhs. The grants for public improvements include Rs. 10 lakhs for assignment to village panchayets, Rs. 3 lakhs for expenditure connected with the Beggar Relief Scheme, Rs. 2 lakhs for improvements in the K.G.F. Sanitary Board area and Rs. 5 lakhs for the proposed Bangalore City Improvement Trust Board. The question of extending the new scheme of rural reconstruction to some more hobilis is under consideration, and, meanwhile, a provision of Rs. 1,70,000 has been made in the Budget.

In furtherance of the "Grow More Food" campaign, seeds and manure of the total value of Rs. 14 lakhs are to be distributed. Another measure of assistance to cultivators worth mentioning here is the distribution practically at cost price of Rs. 15 lakhs worth of agricultural implements, cart tyres, etc., from the depôts of the Agri-

cultural Department. Proposals for the development of fisheries are under consideration and a sum of Rs. 50,000 is included in the Budget on this account. These facts and figures revealed by the Budget presented to the Assembly this week bear testimony to the fact that the State has made definitive and welcome progress towards its broad economic objectives.

The magnitude of the work done by the Government Food Supply Department in the sphere of food grain acquisition and distribution can only be visualized by a study of some of the latest figures quoted by the Dewan in his Budget speech. 10,36,200 pallas of paddy and 2,96,304 pallas of ragi (besides small quantities of other grains) have been purchased on Government account. It is only right to say that this called for the highest degree of organizational skill at short notice under the peremptory demand of the food supply situation. Happily, under the able and thoughtful guidance of the Minister for Supplies and Industries, the task of acquisition has been successfully achieved with as little inconvenience as possible to the growers. To him also is due the success of the work of fully mobilizing the industrial resources of the State for war purposes.

N.B.—Rs. 1 lakh is equivalent to £7,500 at the rate of Rs. 1 at 1s. 6d.

ASIA PRESENTED

By WINIFRED HOLMES

I.—ASIA ON THE AIR: A RADIO REVIEW

THE dramatic march of events in Europe has robbed Asia of its immediate public interest this quarter. There have, in consequence, been few radio programmes about the East. But here and there some useful informative talks worth noting have been given. One talk for schools told of the rich gold-fields of New Guinea, whose exploitation was made possible through air communication and the genius and perspicuity of Cecil Levine, pioneer District Officer. H. V. Redman, Director of the Far Eastern Division of the Ministry of Information, talked about the Susuki family at home—e.g., a typical working-class Japanese family's way of life. Another talk told us of the permeating influence of Confucianism in everyday Chinese life, which has helped the Chinese through the long sufferings and hardships and endurances of the war. And, finally, an interesting talk by Johan Fabricius, the Dutch novelist, on his "two homes," European Holland and Tropical Holland—as the East Indies are now affectionately called—drew our attention to the Netherlands Indies. Occasionally War Review has included a rare and welcome dispatch from Burma or a note on the strategy of the Pacific War, but otherwise Asia has claimed little radio time these past three months.

In an able talk on the fighting in the Pacific, R. W. Robson pointed out that the successful elimination of the threat to Eastern Australia by the Japanese in New Guinea and the Solomons must not blind us to the fact that "from the western end of New Guinea you enter a new world of Pacific islands, new both in a geographical and military sense—namely, the vast archipelagos of the Netherlands Indies—from which our enemies could launch an invasion of North-Western Australia."

"These Netherlands Indies," he went on, "have been garrisoned by what are believed to be enormously large forces of Japanese . . . engaged for two years in the double task of building up a defensive organization and compelling the native inhabitants, seventy million of them, to expand their industries—food producing, oil refining, weaving and shipbuilding—and to gear these native industries to Japan's war industrial potential."

The most southerly of the Netherlands Indies is Timor. It is only four hundred and fifty miles from the north-west coast of Australia—about the same distance as King's Cross to Dundee. A large island, it supports nearly a million people, and in the ten years before Pearl Harbour the Japanese showed a strange interest in it.

"In 1938 the Japanese, despite Dutch opposition, insisted on extending their weekly air mail service from the Western Caroline Island to Timor, and on maintaining it, although such traffic as it carried showed no signs of paying. Timor swarmed with so-called Japanese traders who penetrated everywhere. The Dutch were irritated, but the Australians were suspicious and hostile. And early in 1942, when the Japanese expedition from the Carolines made a bee-line for Timor . . . it was evidently to be the springboard for the invasion of Western Australia."

But recent events—the Allies' mounting air and sea power and the brilliant strategy of island-hopping and starving-out the stranded garrisons—have robbed Japan of much of her offensive sting in the Pacific. It is more likely that Timor's importance to her will be a defensive one, as the southern bastion of the most valuable of her looted possessions in the East Indies—Java and Sumatra—which she will put up a stiff fight to keep.

Nostalgia for the lost colonies breathed through every word of Johan Fabricius' talk. " . . . Like all other Dutch boys in Tropical Holland, I discovered that I had two countries—the one in which I was born and the other one which was mine by right of inheritance. Which was closer to me it would be hard to say."

Spiritually he was attracted by the West—the history and traditions of Holland mean a great deal to the Dutch colonists—but "when I think of home I think of a countryside with rice fields stretching away in terraces as far as you can see; behind them majestic volcanoes. I think of clear mountain rivers, with the buffaloes wading in them. I think of the friendly natives who used to give us the same great kindness and love they gave to their own children. No Dutch woman in the tropics would ever think of going to Europe to have her baby. When she marries and goes out there to live with her husband it becomes her home and the home of her children."

The Dutch in the East Indies have the name of ideal colonizers. They intermarry with well-connected Javanese; they recognize no colour stigma; they rule with a paternal benevolence and build magnificent highways and harbours to improve the amenities of the islands and increase their trade. Yet are they, in fact, such ideal colonizers? Should the colonizer's aim be to raise a native population to his own standards of education and political consciousness, to give him opportunities of exercising responsibility and power in a gradual process of leading the country towards full and independent self-government? Or should it be to treat the native population with kindness and humanity, to keep it satisfied and contented, but humble—a useful helotry engaged in helping the masters to exploit its country to their own advantage? Mr. Fabricius balked this question. But he did admit that his countrymen had "looked on their overseas possessions as an easy source of wealth and nothing else."

But, he said, the publication eighty years ago of a single book—*Max Havelaar*—by a young Dutch colonial civil servant who called himself Multatuli, roused the conscience of the nation to its colonial responsibilities. "I do not think that its influence on Dutch ideas, on the Dutch attitude to the colonies, can be overestimated," he went on. "It became a gospel for all our young civil servants. They carried *Max Havelaar* in their pockets when they sailed for the East Indies and pledged themselves to right the wrongs they had done." It was out of that new spirit that the benevolent paternalism of the Dutch colonial system was born.

II.—ASIA AND THE CINEMA

Up to the time of the war with Japan, Asia had been ill-served by the cinema. A few travelogues of the "romantic and mysterious East," accompanied by mock Eastern music, appeared now and then on British screens with American film company trade marks. Big-money pictures, such as "The Good Earth," based on some best-seller by a Westerner, made in the Hollywood studios with well-known European or American stars and the Chinese population of Los Angeles for local colour, gave cinema audiences an *ersatz* Asia. Even when a genius like Robert Flaherty went to

India to make "Elephant Boy" in the Mysore jungles, with real Indians to play the part of Indians for a change, his backers seemed frightened at such an innovation. Stock villains in crime films were so often Chinese that, very naturally, the Chinese Government protested at such a defamation of their national character.

All too rarely an Indian, Chinese or Japanese made film was shown by the Film Society to small audiences of *cinéastes*, but never to the general film-going public, to whom the real Asia was an unknown continent. Basil Wright's "Song of Ceylon" and Alex Shaw's "Five Faces" (of Malaya) were delightful short films made on the spot by two of our best documentary film directors, but they had too small a distribution to alter the situation.

Things have changed slightly since Pearl Harbour. I say slightly, as, though the war with Japan has brought propaganda about the Far East into prominence, there have been few efforts by film makers so far to help us to know and understand this great continent and its many countries, peoples and problems.

The Indian Government Film Unit, started by Alex Shaw, sends over here a great deal of fine material about India's war effort, but very little of it appears on our public screens. The news-reels have an occasional flash from the Assam-Burma battle front—Nagas working on the Manipur or Ledo roads or some spectacular American shots of the assault on Guam. But none of these bits and pieces can exactly be called putting Asia on the screen.

We in Britain have had our hands so full in Africa and Europe that until some months ago we did not consider very seriously the problem of presenting the war in Asia to our people. To rectify this omission the Ministry of Information are sponsoring a series of films on this subject which will be reviewed in these columns each quarter. But though several are in production not one has appeared so far. The Americans, deeply involved in the Japanese war from the start, have put the Far East high, if not highest, on their priority list for cinema and other propaganda, and besides shorts and news-reels, Hollywood has already turned out several big films of an anti-Japanese nature calculated to make the American people hate their enemies and fight the war with bitterness.

It is important to analyze the propaganda line taken up by our Allies as, enjoy the admission or not, there is no denying the fact that film propaganda has perhaps a stronger impact than any other and may easily influence a whole nation's attitude towards another nation for years to come.

The American propaganda line against Japan is so far shown to be a purely chauvinist one. Black is black and white is white. The Japanese are all bad—all cruel—all brutal. The Allies are all good—all noble. From the Far Eastern sequences in Capra's brilliant *sour de force* "Prelude to War" to "The Purple Heart," the story of the American airmen shot down over Japan after their raid on Tokio and tortured and murdered by their captors, this line is followed.

There are in currency now, however, two exceptions to this rule: two American short films, made with sober objectivity, which are being shown in public cinemas, which simply aim at presenting two aspects of the Far Eastern war. These films are "Backdoor to Tokio," a March of Time film, and "Report from the Aleutians." Both are well worth seeing.

In "Backdoor to Tokio" we hear of the tragic difficulties of China, embattled behind her mountains, with few means of getting the arms and equipment she needs to beat off the Japanese, and the slender life-line which General Stilwell, "Vinegar Joe," is throwing from Assam to Chungking, is shown from the landing of vital war material at Calcutta to the General's training and leadership of his mixed army, mostly Chinese, through the mountains and jungles round Myitkyina, followed by the building of the road along which the relieving supplies can be sent.

"Vinegar Joe" himself—elderly, lean, professorial-looking, but with the kindest eyes imaginable behind his glasses—becomes far more than a name in the film. He is a most likeable and reliable human being whom you feel you know at once. No article, however sensitively descriptive, could give just that intimate contact with the man that the film does.

The film "Report from the Aleutians," made by Warner Bros., is in colour and is very beautiful. The infertile loneliness of the scenery is intensified by the vivid

atmospheric effects of sudden changes from brilliant sunshine to mist and cloud-burst: the Aleutians have the greatest alternating variety of weather of any spot on the earth's surface.

In this eeriness, barrenness and inclemency of climate the Americans settle down to make themselves a permanent base on one of the smaller islands, from which they raid Kiska every hour of every day from 8 a.m. to dusk. We see them drain a lake, remove its laval mud from the bottom, line it with steel strips, brought prefabricated from America, and take off in their great bombers from it—all in ten days. We see them living in tents, cooking their food, making merry over one man with a voice and a guitar, watched by enormous wheeling ravens, the only native life of the islands, and starting off on a routine bombing mission.

This routine mission is shown in great and loving detail, from the plotting of the route and taking of last-minute weather report, the servicing of the giant machines, the crews being briefed and packing in, the bombs hurtling down with a thin whistling on to the enemy installations below, to the return through flak, one machine hit, the wounded airmen taken off skilfully to hospital and expert medical attention, and the funeral of one airman who did not return alive to base. There is something memorable here, something moving, sensitive, full of human dignity—a simple film about a job well done against a threatening enemy without the whipped-up emotions of hatred, malice or self-pity.

AMERICA'S FIGHT IN THE PACIFIC

(Specially Contributed)

SOMEWHERE between Pearl Harbour and Tokyo lie the soggy remains of many a naval theory. They began to moulder on December 7, 1941, when Japan blitzkreiged America into the war by attacking simultaneously Hawaii, the Philippines, Wake and Guam Islands. Japan made the attack with aircraft, with her navy and her landing forces held in strategic abeyance for the moment when successful invasion was certain. Singapore, the islands from Sumatra's western tip to Timor and the Savu Sea—all fell beneath the Japanese onslaught. Australia's doom seemed near.

For the Allies this moment was dark and terrible. Japan had undisputed naval and air superiority in the Pacific and was free to step from island to island on a campaign of conquest. In a matter of weeks the enemy had occupied a gargantuan sea triangle reaching from the Kuriles to Burma to New Britain and the Solomons. It was a sea-and-island empire of almost unimaginable vastness.

Then, in June, 1942, all this began to change. The initiative passed from the enemy, never to be regained by him. At Midway Island, 2,550 miles from Tokyo, the Japanese were stopped dead in their tracks, and the new technique of the Pacific campaign began to be apparent. One of the greatest battles ever fought on the sea took place without any one vessel sighting an opponent vessel. Fortresses and torpedo planes zoomed down on a Japanese fleet heading for Hawaii. Navy carrier-based planes ranged far and wide over the waters around Midway, sighting enemy ships, diving on them, torpedoing them. For four days the battle raged and then, as the sun was setting on the fourth day, an American pilot, floating on his life-raft, saw the Zeros in the evening sky, hopelessly searching a wreck-strewn sea for a place to land.

Mile by mile, airborne by airbase, furious battle by furious battle, the Americans have worked their way since the Battle of Midway back to a point in the Pacific where they can bomb Tokyo itself. It has not been an easy fight, nor a fast one.

Saipan, captured by U.S. Marines on July 10, is 3,800 miles from Pearl Harbour,

where it all started, and only 1,430 miles from Tokyo, where it all will end. Guadalcanal, Tarawa, Kwajalein, Guam, Saipan—Americans will not forget these names. They are the scenes of the bloodiest and most furious fighting in a brilliant sea, air and land campaign to regain the Pacific. They are the stepping-stones to Tokyo, each a base for more aggressive action. They are the successive proving grounds of a new and decisive naval strategy which proceeds on the theory that islands are aircraft carriers at anchor and aircraft carriers are manoeuvrable islands, and both are necessary for naval victory.

At the time of the Battle of Midway the Pacific war was six months old, and during those six months the Japanese had lost 232 ships, the United States 60. The seven-league boot was on the other foot now, and the Americans prepared to make their first offensive.

On Guadalcanal, in the Solomon Islands, the Japanese were working desperately to build an airdrome from which to blast the supply routes between the U.S. and Australia. On August 7, 1942, this roseate dream came to an abrupt blackout. On the morning of that August day U.S. Marines made a landing in force on Guadalcanal. American ships came close inshore, U.S. dive bombers attacked mercilessly from the sky and the surprised and desperate Japs lost their airfield before they had had a chance to use it.

All through the late summer and autumn the Americans resisted every Japanese countergrab for Guadalcanal and its precious Henderson Field. Then, on November 10, Navy scout planes located strong enemy naval forces—strangely without aircraft carriers—bearing down on Guadalcanal from the north-west. The American Navy went out to meet them in what became the fiercest naval action of the Pacific war.

Ira Wolfert, at a base of the Guadalcanal sector, described the Battle of Guadalcanal in the *New York Times* of November 15: "While it was still dark Admiral Callaghan's force dived headlong into a Jap fleet vastly more powerful than ours, which was swinging around tiny Savo Island with guns set to blast Guadalcanal point-blank. Their guns used high explosives instead of armour-piercing shells. For our cruisers and destroyers to stand up against battleships was like putting a bantam-weight against a heavy-weight. The Japs could have stayed out of range and knocked out our warships with impunity, and could have then finished us on the ground. But we caught them with their kimonos down.

"We opened fire first. The range was so close that the Japs could not depress their guns enough to fire at the waterline, which is why so many hits landed on the bridges of our ships, killing two of our Admirals.

"The action was illuminated by muzzleflashes from big guns, by brilliant streams of tracers and by tremendous blasts of explosives as two Jap destroyers and one of ours blew up within seconds of one another. Two Jap planes, overhead, which intended to drop flares on the target, were blown to bits.

"In the glare of the exploding ships the two naval forces could be seen wallowing in their recoils, throwing up big waves in the ordinarily lake-like harbour. The sands of the beach shuddered from gunfire so that the men standing there tingled from head to foot.

"The show took place immediately in front of us. Our ships, in a line about 3,000 yards long, steamed into a huge circle of Jap ships. Dodging, reversing their field, twisting and lurching, they progressed inside the circle. Since the Jap circle was much bigger than our line, the Jap ships fired across the empty space into one another. It took about 30 minutes for our ships to complete the tour of the circle, and by then the enemy formation was no longer an effective force. Their surviving vessels crawled out of the harbour without having dropped a single shell on Guadalcanal."

By February 8, 1943, all organized resistance by the Japanese on Guadalcanal had come to a full stop, and an airbase of great strategic value became the property of the Allies. From Henderson Field American heavy bombers could begin sustained air war against the Japs in New Britain and the Japs in New Guinea. Americans could at last legitimately dream of the recapture of the Philippines.

This tiny victory was the beginning of the South-West Pacific campaign. As it grimly expanded in the direction of Tokyo via Rabaul in New Britain, Hollandia in New Guinea and Truk in the Caroline Islands, and as the North Pacific campaign

pursued its steady course toward Tokyo southward through the Aleutians, Admiral Chester Nimitz was organizing important units of the Pacific fleet for a series of assaults on the enemy's outposts in the Central Pacific.

The Gilbert Islands are a group of coral atolls lying athwart the equator. They are immediately south and east of important Japanese bases in the Carolines and the Marshalls, and their capture would be a serious thrust at the Japanese Empire. In August, September and October, 1943, carrier-based air strikes came upon the Japanese on Marcus, Tarawa, Apamama and Wake Islands—all in the Central Pacific—with the suddenness of a tornado. Tarawa, key atoll in the Gilberts, was the site of one of Japan's most potent airfields and was so powerfully fortified that the Japanese boasted that "a million Americans couldn't take it." On November 20, 1943, Tarawa became the scene of the first American offensive in the Central Pacific. The U.S. Marines who won the island paid heavily for their victory, but they also learned a valuable lesson in the technique of island warfare—a lesson later put into effect on Saipan, the island runway which points towards the Philippines.

Robert Sherrod, war correspondent, reported the Battle of Tarawa for *Time Magazine*: "The first night passed perilously. The Marines held three beach-heads, the longest less than 100 yards from end to end, the deepest 70 yards inland. The Japs commanded the rest of the island. For every Marine who slept in a foxhole, two kept watch through the darkness.

"Next morning before dawn a lone Jap plane came over, shied away as U.S. ships put up a terrific ack-ack barrage. Soon after the first light the 2nd Division's reserves made for the shore. From the beach-head it was a sickening sight.

"Even before they climbed out of their Higgins boats, the reserves were under machine-gun fire. Many were cut down as they waded in, others drowned. Men screamed and moaned. Of twenty-four in one boat only three reached shore.

"Low tide that morning bared the bodies of many Marines, some hunched grotesquely, others with arms outstretched, all arrested while charging forward. At regimental headquarters, located 30 yards inland against a Jap log-and-steel-laced blockhouse, staff officers worked grimly. Colonel David Shoup, huge, bullnecked commander of the men ashore, reported: 'We're in a mighty tough spot. We've got to have more men.' It was touch and go whether the Marines would be killed or, less likely, be pushed back into the sea.

"The turning-point came about 1 p.m. on the second day. Millions of bullets, hundreds of tons of explosives poured into the stubborn Japs. Strafing planes and dive-bombers raked the island, light and medium tanks got ashore, rolled up to fire high-explosive charges point-blank into the snipers' slots of enemy forts. Artillery got ashore, laid down a pattern over every yard of the Jap positions. Ceaseless naval gunfire became more accurate.

"But the decisive factor was the fighting spirit of the U.S. Marines. Not every corpsman was a natural hero: some quivered and hugged the beach, but most—those who feared and those who disdained death—went forward into the Jap fire. . . .

"That afternoon Colonel Shoup wiped his red face with a grimy sleeve, said: 'Well, I think we're winning, but the bastards have got a lot of bullets left. I think we'll clean up tomorrow.' The Colonel was right. On the third day the Japs began to fall apart. The Marines advanced inland at a mounting pace, overran Betio's valuable airfield, bottled the Japs in the island's tail. . . ."

The incredible seemed to be true. Japan's inner defences were vulnerable. The 3,000,000 square miles of ocean in the Western Pacific had become a vast no-man's land, with the might of the U.S. Navy moving relentlessly on—and past—each bitterly contested Jap garrison. Kwajalein, in the Marshalls, approximately 2,500 miles from Tokyo, fell to the U.S. Marines—the first Japanese territory to be taken. Twenty-eight Japs were killed for every American. The Marianas, only 1,430 miles from Tokyo, were mercilessly pounded from the air by navy aircraft.

Then right after the U.S. announced it had 100 aircraft carriers in action, came one of the most dramatic and daring moves in the entire Pacific war. Out of the deep Pacific blue one morning last July appeared a U.S. task force. Light bombers and fighters swept away from the decks of scores of aircraft carriers to bomb and strafe enemy installations at Saipan in the Marianas. This was an attack on the Empire

itself. Japanese planes rose to meet the attacking force. A Japanese task force steamed eastward from the Philippines to contest the Saipan landings.

In the air over Saipan a battle of immense fury raged; on to the island for two long days U.S. battleships, cruisers, destroyers unloaded their big, hot guns; off toward the Philippines streaked other carrier-based planes to intercept Japan's intercepting task force.

Sergeant Bill Reed, a staff correspondent for the U.S. Army magazine, *Yank*, described that air battle west of Saipan: "And then, in the distance, there loomed the sight that every American fighter in the Pacific has dreamed about: Jap battleships, cruisers, destroyers and carriers. They were dispersed in a wide area, separate groups of them. There was a carrier riding close to a battleship and surrounding them were faster cruisers and destroyers.

"In the largest group were two carriers, a battleship, two cruisers and about six destroyers. The larger carrier sat high up in the water, the prize of the lot, a 28,000-ton warship of the Hayataka class. Platz (aerial gunner George Platz) knew instinctively that Brown (Pilot-Lieutenant George Brown) was going to head for it. He did, and ordered three planes to follow him.

"The flak started immediately. It came up like a curtain, thick and deadly. When small dark puffs of smoke popped around the plane, followed by gushes of white and then blinding fire, Platz knew his TBF (Grumman Avenger) was sailing through a barrage of phosphorus shells.

"Brown dropped the nose of his plane towards the sea at 4,000 feet and was about to glide in to the carrier from 1,000 when the TBF suffered its first damage.

"'Jap tracers had been getting closer and closer,' says Platz. 'Then the plane jumped and rocked. They had hit us below the turret in the fuselage. Part of the wing was flapping off, but I didn't realize we were on fire until the turret became hot. The radio gear under me was covered with white smoke. I tried to call the pilot but the radio wouldn't work. Everything was smoking. I decided to get the hell out.'

"Platz worked his way to the hatch and found Ellis Babcock, radio man, waiting for him. He'd been strafing the most active destroyer when the TBF was hit. Platz grinned at his shipmate, shoved him out and then jumped.

"Both watched their ship continue on toward the carrier. For the first time they realized that Lieutenant Brown was still at the controls. The flaming plane streaked toward the carrier, now attempting to escape by turning sharply to the right. It turned at exactly the right moment, and Brown's torpedo rammed into its side, a dead hit.

"Then a TBF piloted by Lieutenant Benjamin Tate swung in from the same side and caught the carrier amidships with its fish. Platz and Babcock, still parachuting down, saw the wakes of three torpedoes converge on the carrier. It rocked and heaved. The prize plum had been plucked."

Tokyo knew now its doom was near. Forty-nine U.S. planes were lost in that fight, during which twenty Jap planes were destroyed, the carrier and three tankers sunk, a cruiser and three carriers damaged. The enemy's interceptor fleet was intercepted and stopped 500 miles out. Over Saipan the Japanese lost 353 planes. The U.S. lost twenty-one. On the shores of the island Japanese fortifications crumpled under the fierce naval bombardment. On the fifth day of the battle of the Marianas, American soldiers and marines swarmed ashore at Saipan, Tinian, Rota, Guam, to take more islands, more anchored aircraft carriers.

Thus was won an air base within easy reach of Japan for the mighty B-29 Super Fortresses. In two years the U.S. Navy had moved from desperate defensive action to overwhelming offensive operations. The enemy had been pushed back from Pearl Harbour 3,800 miles across the Pacific toward Tokyo. The immense promises of a new and daring theory of naval warfare had been fulfilled.

When this naval theory will be put to its final and most urgent test is but a matter of time, and for Tokyo time is short.

INDUSTRIAL CO-OPERATION BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND INDIA

By R. W. BROCK

THE sun of world-prosperity must rise in the East before it can shine, steadily and warmly, in the West. It has not risen yet. Despite all efforts, Asia, containing half the world's population, remains for the most part an economic slum, mainly because population keeps so many jumps ahead of production. A new approach has become necessary. Western political and industrial leadership has carried the most populous of the continents a considerable distance towards higher standards of production and social welfare. But a stage has probably been reached when new vehicles as well as new drivers have become essential to enable the journey to be completed. In the natural course of evolution, both the new vehicles and the new drivers will be of Eastern origin. It may well be that, initially, measured by Western political standards, the new vehicles may appear defective in manufacture, and the driving inexperienced and dangerous; nevertheless both may be expected to improve in time, and meanwhile the world will gain the immense advantage that economic progress in Asia, as a whole, will become self-propelled: if the analogy may be forgiven—a product of internal combustion.

To many observers, the chief value of the much-discussed "Bombay Plan" must be found in the fact that it falls within that category. No more significant development, in my view, has occurred in Asia since Japan decided to modernize her industries and become a modern State. Such a programme as the Bombay Plan, formulated in circumstances subject to so many almost incalculable factors, may be open to severe criticism on points of detail. But at least it is produced by practical industrialists, not by economic theorists; it is confessedly open to discussion and substantial modification; and, on this scale, it represents the first feasible plan to promote an all-round development of India's economic resources which could be regarded as self-generated. If only for that reason, it deserves our fullest sympathy and our discriminating but active support. An additional, more self-regarding consideration, however, as suggested in my opening sentence, is that current Western economic and social standards cannot be stabilized, much less improved upon, except for very short periods, without a closer approximation to the same standards east of Suez than has heretofore been achieved, or even contemplated. The contention, now so often reiterated, that the world is rapidly becoming a single economic unit, is based on hard realities which we can ignore only to our collective disadvantage. Prosperity, like peace, has become indivisible—but so has poverty.

In some quarters, strange to relate, a vague apprehension is still felt that, in some manner left undefined, planned development in India, including a large measure of industrialization, would operate, in the long as well as the short run, to this country's prejudice. This is a shot in the dark and right off the target: disregarding historical experience as well as familiar economic facts. India achieved the most rapid progress in her economic history during the period when, aided by British political primacy and the unification and development of the administrative system, British capital poured into the country to build railways and irrigation works, construct ports and roads and open up means of transport and communication generally, introduce Indian staples such as jute, tea, cotton, etc., to world trade, pioneer local industries, and extend cultivation. So long as this inflow of capital continued, India continued to forge ahead, and a rising standard of subsistence was found for a rising population. But for many years past that stream of capital has ceased to flow, and tended to be displaced by Indian capital operating in the same spheres, the net expansion in the total capital invested—as, for example, in the interwar period—being relatively small. Meanwhile, India's population has multiplied—since 1921 by over 83,000,000—and it most certainly cannot be argued that the capital invested in modern forms of economic

enterprise has increased *pari passu*. Consequently, large new schemes of capital development have become essential in India, not merely to establish higher standards of production and welfare, but even to maintain existing standards *vis-à-vis* an expansion in population which, at the present rate, will increase the number needing subsistence from the present 400 millions to the somewhat awesome total of 700 millions three or four decades hence. I have alluded to the progressive displacement of British by Indian capital during the interwar years, and it will suffice here to reiterate the financial changes, incidental to the present conflict, which have, in addition to eliminating India's sterling debt, enabled her to accumulate sterling balances now approaching £800,000,000, and still increasing, compared with British investments in India, estimated not to exceed £200,000,000.

In effect, by and large, although without excluding future collaboration, British capital has completed the major part of its task in India, and Indian capital has "taken over." The latter confronts a formidable problem, and—subject always to prior commitments whose fulfilment remains a responsibility of the U.K. Government, as well as international trading obligations and agreements—can hardly be denied freedom to choose its own channels of investment, in so far as these may command the approbation and support of the Government of India, and the Indian legislature. This latter reservation is important. The degree of State participation in India's economic development is measured by the capital already invested in State-owned undertakings, such as railways and irrigation works, approaching £800,000,000—an investment which will be doubled when the available sterling balances are fully utilized, presumably also in State projects. Apart from its Constitutional powers, this stake renders the Government of India the senior partner in developmental projects and undertakings, and offers it an opportunity for leadership corresponding to its powers and resources. Incidentally, thanks primarily to her association with the British Commonwealth, India is a generation ahead of China in all forms of economic development, and, with adequate capital now available for further progress, should be able, under wise guidance, to retain that primacy in the years to come. That leadership will be further reinforced by the disruption of Japanese industry which must follow the political and military eclipse of Japan along with her Axis partners. In such a situation, only political disunity can prevent India becoming the greatest Power and the most prosperous country in Asia.

Analysis of the various Indian reconstruction projects formulated to date confirms the impression that, while their fulfilment may prejudice a few exporting industries in this country—on balance, and within a measurable period the outcome should be a substantial recovery in total United Kingdom exports to the Indian market. As Mr. Amery pointed out over a year ago, addressing the Institute of Export:

"In the immediate post-war period our opportunity for co-operating most effectively with Indian requirements and aspirations would undoubtedly be in the provision of capital goods which would be urgently needed for industrial re-equipment and expansion. Later on it might lie more in the provision of more specialized types of consumers' goods. In either case our success would correspond directly to the extent to which our trade policy was one of whole-hearted co-operation in India's effort to raise herself to a higher plane of economic efficiency. With that there must go a whole-hearted jettisoning of any lingering survival of the idea that India is in any sense a reserved market for British trade or for British capital."

Subsequent events have certainly done nothing to diminish the applicability of this wise counsel. Political amity and commercial co-operation hang together, and only defeatists will doubt that finally both will be achieved. In common with other countries India will end the war starved for consumer—and even more for capital—goods, and with most European countries prostrate and Japan out of the picture for some time, there should be no lack of orders for United Kingdom manufacturers, which one can only hope they will be placed betimes in a position to supply. Normal trade, moreover, can be supplemented very substantially by "marrying" India's sterling balances to the large-scale reconstruction projects which Sir Ardeshir Dalal,

Member for Planning and Development, has been appointed by Lord Wavell to co-ordinate, basing his programme on the official and non-official "plans" recently circulated for discussion. At least £50 millions worth of exports should be available, annually for the next decade, from this source alone.

The fact that exports in this category will not help to finance urgently-needed imports in the immediate post-war years must not be allowed to exclude from consideration the long-term importance of building up India's productive, and purchasing, power on the scale necessary to enable her to regain her former primacy amongst our overseas markets. Happily, as reflected in the recent presidential address to the Indian Engineering Association of Mr. D. C. Driver of Tata's, Indian opinion shows increasing recognition that it is in India's own interests to assist Britain's post-war export trade and "take as much as possible from Britain both in capital goods, consumers' goods when necessary, and technical and expert services in preference to taking these from other countries." So far as the liquidation of Britain's large debt is concerned, it is now recognized, this is the only way we can pay. This is indisputable. A debt incurred in payment for goods and services can be repaid only in the same forms. Nor can it be emphasized too strongly in this country that the major part of the capital outlay contemplated in India will be designed to expand production in directions complementary, not competitive, in relation to United Kingdom industries, such as, for example, on hydro-electric projects, railways, roads, civil aviation, forest extension, wireless broadcasting, and, above all, wide-ranging improvements in agricultural processes and methods of finance. In the Bombay Plan perhaps the least explicable item is the inclusion of an outlay of £1,650 millions, out of a total expenditure of £7,500 millions, on housing—a figure which is meaningless unless it is contemplated that, to this extent, Indians should live in State-owned houses. This, however, is a matter of policy for decision by the Indian Legislature.

In previous comments it has been emphasized that in all these schemes of development, as far as possible, progress in British India and the Indian States should be concurrent and co-extensive. This, of course, does not preclude a display of bold initiative by the States themselves, some of which indeed have shown commendable enterprise in establishing new industries for many years past. Current plans, undoubtedly, however, offer a challenge to embark on still wider projects and, according to a Reuter cable, Hyderabad has formulated proposals involving, over a period of fourteen years, an aggregate outlay of £150,000,000 mainly on the advancement of industries, education and public health. Within a few days of the arrival of this very brief intimation in London another press agency, cabling from Bangalore, announced that Mysore has almost completed a post-war plan involving a similar expenditure spread over fifteen years in three five-year periods, an outlay of £30 millions occurring in the first period, and of £60 millions in each of the succeeding quinquennia. The Mysore Plan, it is stated, lays stress on raising the standard of living by increasing the *per capita* income which, according to the recent rural economic survey, is only sixty-five rupees per annum. In the field of agriculture, it is pointed out that, of the cultivable area of ten million acres, less than two-thirds is under actual cultivation, and that the State normally imports about £750,000 worth of food annually. It is planned to reduce this deficiency by bringing more land under cultivation as well as by stimulating higher yields per acre by various processes. In the industrial field, besides expanding existing industries which have experienced a war-time boom, new industries are projected both under official auspices and in co-operation with local industrialists. Funds are also being earmarked for a wide extension of the education and public health services. These are healthy developments, and where these two progressive States have led, others may be expected to follow. Few Administrations in either British India or the States now appear able to resist the temptation to produce reconstruction schemes, and non-official organizations are adding their quota. If the new Member for Planning and Development in the Government of India can co-ordinate these it will be a real achievement, for financial resources are not unlimited, and capital equipment for some years will not in all cases be as promptly available as planners may desire.

DOUBLING INDIA'S AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

BY SIR ALBERT HOWARD, C.I.E.

(Fellow of the Imperial College of Science)

IN July of this year details of a plan to double the production of the soil of India within a period of fifteen years reached London. The plan was drafted by a special committee appointed by the Advisory Board of the All-India Imperial Council of Agricultural Research and then discussed by the Policy Committee on Agriculture, Forests and Fisheries of the Reconstruction Committee of the Viceroy's Executive Council, after which its recommendations were approved in general. The cost of the project was estimated at one thousand crores of rupees, approximately £750,000,000.

This ambitious scheme suggests two questions. Is such a plan possible? If so, can the cost of the project be reduced so as to safeguard India's financial position?

After a lifetime spent in the study of Indian agriculture and in the means by which crop production can be increased, I am confident that the plan is not only practicable and eminently desirable, but is well within the combined powers of the authorities in India and of her rural population. As regards the cost of the scheme, my personal opinion is that it can be materially reduced provided the active interest of the landlords and of the cultivators can be enlisted in the project. Although my knowledge of finance is small, nevertheless I have been impressed by the able manner in which the finances of India have been managed in the past and the credit of the country maintained at such a high level. India's credit is what other people with money to lend think of her Government. It would, therefore, be a calamity to undermine this credit by over-borrowing and over-spending even on such a desirable scheme as the one under discussion. The purpose of this article is to show how all this is possible and how it can be carried out at a reasonable cost.

Any increase in the production of food for man and beast is only possible by making the fullest use of the earth's green carpet. The energy needed is already provided by the sun; the machinery for using this energy is to be found in the cells of the green leaf. The problem of increased food production, therefore, reduces itself to speeding up the work of the plant. Once this is accomplished there will be more for the population to eat and more for the buffaloes and cows, which produce the much-needed supplies of milk and milk products.

Has anyone in the past ever speeded up the work of the green leaf in India sufficiently to prove that the scheme under discussion is possible and safe? The answer is, Yes. An account will be found in Chapter XIV of *An Agricultural Testament* (Oxford University Press, 1940), which deals with the history and development of the most remarkable example of successful agricultural research I have ever seen or heard of. It concerns the work on sugar carried out by the late Mr. George Clarke, C.I.E., and his two Indian colleagues—the late Rai Bahadur S. C. Banerji and the late Khan Bahadur Sheikh Mahomed Naib Husain—at Shahjahanpur in the United Provinces. It owes much to the consistent support of two Indian Ministers of Agriculture—the late Sir Chirravoori Chintamani and the Nawab of Chhatari. Clarke and his staff showed that the production of crops like sugar, wheat and gram can be more than trebled by methods within the capacity of any good cultivator and without the use of artificial manures, the introduction of which into Indian agriculture, he agreed with me, would lead to one of the greatest calamities which could befall mankind. As the target of the project under discussion only involves the doubling of present-day production, it will be seen that there is a safe margin to spare, as it were.

How can we set about doubling crop production in India? It will be best, I think, to deal with this subject as regards crops in two parts, and to consider the rice crop by itself first of all and then group the remainder.

Rice. Rice is by far the most important crop in India. It was the shortage of rice

in Bengal which was at the root of the recent famine, aggravated by the temporary loss of the Burma crop. But it is an easy matter to increase both the yield of rice and to improve its nutritive value. This has been done at a few centres by converting all available vegetable and animal wastes into compost for the rice nurseries and for the transplanted crop. A very important source of vegetable matter for this compost is now unused. It is the vast supply of water hyacinth, which is so common in the deltas of the great Indian rivers and which can be had for the small cost and trouble of collection. The water hyacinth has, up to the present, been regarded as a pest to be destroyed. In reality it is nothing of the kind, but a heaven-sent gift of Providence to the Indian people. This water weed uses up the valuable plant food materials which are washed into the Indian rivers and converts these elements into vegetable matter, at the same time purifying the water and reducing the mosquito population responsible for malaria. It is an easy matter to collect this water weed after the rains on the banks of the streams and rivers, and compost it with the help of cowdung and the urine-impregnated earth on which the cattle and buffaloes are housed at night. The first successful experiments in composting water hyacinth were carried out in the park at Barrackpore by Mr. E. F. Watson, D.S.O., the Superintendent of the Governor's Estates, Bengal. They were afterwards copied on a number of tea estates in Assam. One word of caution is here necessary. All the water hyacinth in any locality must not be collected for composting; about one-quarter must be left to carry on the growth for the next year. I saw this mistake made in Assam in 1937. An energetic tea planter cleared a low-lying rice area among the tea completely and left little or no water hyacinth for starting another crop.

Besides the production of more rice and better rice, much can be done in India now by improving the food value of the present-day rice crop. Great harm is being done by the production of white rice in the mills. This operation removes the valuable minerals in the seed coat and much of the germ—by far the most nutritive portions of the rice. Paddy should be only very lightly milled. One of my colleagues in the reform of agriculture all over the world, Mr. A. S. Haynes, C.M.G., a former Chief Secretary in Malaya, devoted much time to this question of improving the food value of rice, and while in the Federated Malay States obtained some very striking and very valuable results. I suggest, with all respect, that Mr. Haynes should be invited to contribute an article on this important subject for the pages of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*. It would indeed be a calamity if the extra rice which India can easily grow were ruined by persisting in a practice which has done so much harm to her population in the past.

Food and money crops. Three things are needed to increase the production of the remaining crops of India—more humus, more water, and more seed of better varieties to make the fullest use of the improved soil conditions.

The supply of humus can be increased in two ways: (1) by means of the excellent composting scheme now in progress in India, and (2) by the reform of green manuring. This composting scheme envisages the conversion of all available vegetable and animal wastes into humus, including those of the towns and cities. Some of this humus should then be used for the reform of green manuring. The Shahjahanpur results show how this can be done. The green-manure crop must be manured with a light dressing of cattle manure or compost (some 5 to 10 tons to the acre) before the green crop is sown. This organic manure is necessary for two purposes—it increases the yield of green manure, and it produces those soil conditions necessary to decay the green crop quickly, often in time for the next crop. When, however, this is not possible the green crop can be reaped and composted separately, leaving to the soil the work of decaying the root system only.

The water needed by the increased crops can be provided in two ways—by the reform of canal irrigation, and by the development of wells.

There is a serious administrative weakness in the otherwise admirable canal systems of India. Vast quantities of valuable water are wasted, which also does harm to the land. A considerable loss of revenue results. These shortcomings can easily be removed. Irrigation water should be charged for according to the number of waterings, not according to the area irrigated. A reduction of about 33 per cent. in the water used can soon be reached, as is proved by the experience of Sir Edward Hearle

Cole, C.B., C.M.O., on his estate at Coleyana in the Montgomery District of the Punjab. The water so saved can be used to water more land.

Another reform in the present irrigational policy can be achieved in the growth of crops like wheat and gram by copying the principle of the old inundation canals. In the Punjab, for example, it is quite easy to grow a fair crop of wheat or gram on one watering only. Two advantages follow—much water is saved and the soil benefits from the long rest from continual surface flooding.

It is in Peninsular India, in particular, that so much can be done to make the fullest use of the monsoon rainfall by a combination of embankments and wells. In the Malwa plateau in Central India, where there is a gentle slope towards the north, low earthen embankments can be erected by the people themselves to impound the surplus monsoon rain. Below these embankments more wells can be sunk, which are fed by the impounded water. In days of old one of the Maharajahs of Indore had many of these embankments made, so that well irrigation could be started. From what I saw of the Malwa plateau between the years 1924 and 1931 I am convinced that this pioneering work could be developed out of all knowledge. Similar projects are, no doubt, possible in many other areas of the peninsula.

As regards the provision of the seed of varieties of crops which can make the best use of better soil conditions, a great deal has already been achieved in India. All that is necessary is to develop the work in progress and to combine the distribution of better seed with the teaching that such seed can give the best results only when the soil conditions are simultaneously improved. Higher yielding types of seed by themselves will always act as a boomerang. They tend to exhaust the land. This can be prevented, and the new varieties can be made to do their best only when the fertility of the soil is first restored and then maintained.

Increasing the area under crops. Much can be done in India by increasing the area under crops. Some of the best and strongest land in the Punjab and the United Provinces is now ruined by alkali salts. A simple method of reclaiming alkali land by the use of *dub* grass has been devised by Sir Edward Cole on his estate in the Punjab. If this could be applied all over north-west India, large areas of excellent new land would be available.

In a recent letter, dated June 23, 1944, Sir Edward writes of this reclaimed alkali land: "Some lands for which a few years ago I could not get tenants now produce 20 to 22 maunds of wheat and 10 to 11 maunds of seed cotton per acre."

Livestock. The moment crop production can be increased the question of developing India's livestock can be taken in hand. More milk is urgently needed and better fed work cattle are a necessity. The milch cow of India is the buffalo, an animal capable of producing rich milk on a diet on which the average dairy cow would starve. One of the great difficulties in improving the efficiency of the buffalo and the ox is a supply of nutritious food during the hot season. I solved this problem between 1924 and 1931, when Director of the Institute of Plant Industry at Indore. All that is needed is to convert the tall millet into silage by means of a small portable chaff-cutter driven by a 5-h.p. portable oil engine. The best silo is a simple pit about 4 feet deep with sloping sides, leaped with a clay slurry to keep out air. The chaffed millet stalks are moistened with water and the filled pit is covered with earth. A pit silo, which will hold enough silage for fifty oxen for a fortnight, costs about ten shillings to make and will last many years. The new scheme for increasing food production might consider this simple method of solving the hot weather food supply for the milking and working animals of the country.

Composting. The moment the manufacture of compost is taken up all over India the problem of more animal manure for making humus will become acute. How can this be solved? In two ways. The fullest use must be made of the urine of the livestock by absorbing this with earth and storing the resulting urine-earth under cover, so that this activator will allow composting to go on without a break throughout the year. Besides this urine-earth, as much extra cowdung as possible should find its way into the compost pits. This will involve some alternative fuel suitable for the slow cooking needed for a vegetarian diet. One suggestion from an old colleague in India might be considered—the use of a fuel like coalite, which will result from the low-temperature distillation of Indian coal. The distillate would be most useful

in many Indian industries; the residue might be adapted as a substitute for dried cowdung. This fuel problem is one which some Indian technologist will have little difficulty in solving.

Communications. One of the most difficult and also the most expensive factors connected with doubling India's food supply is the present imperfect means of communication between the countryside, where the food is produced, and the town, where much of it is consumed. The country must have many more metalled roads and many more bridges. Good bridges will cost money and there seems no simple means of reducing such expense. The problem of more metalled roads is, however, a simpler one, provided the localities which benefit can be induced to supply free of charge a great deal of the man- and bullock-power needed to make them. The cost of a new metalled road and of its upkeep is very largely a matter of labour. Can the local notables and their tenants be brought into a great road scheme so that the cost can be reduced by, say, a half? If so, then a useful outlet can be found for the vast amount of man- and bullock-power now running to waste. If this problem cannot be solved the cultivator will pay twice over for his improved communications. He will pay once in the shape of wasted hours. He will pay a second time in the shape of cesses, taxes or bridge and road tolls needed to pay the interest on the loans and on their amortization. In *An Agricultural Testament* (p. 16), published originally in 1940, in speaking of the labour supply of the Orient, I wrote :

"There is an adequate supply of labour. Labour is everywhere abundant, as would naturally follow from the great density of the rural population. Indeed, in India it is so great that if the leisure time of the cultivators and their cattle for a single year could be calculated as money at the local rates a perfectly colossal figure would be obtained."

Why, therefore, should India borrow money for a great national road scheme which could so easily be saved? All that is needed is to interest the local notables in the project for better roads and better communications. They can then use their influence to secure the help of the villages. If they succeeded in this the many well-wishers of India will indeed feel that India has taken an important step in the direction of local self-government. As is well known, India is not a rich country as regards money. The raising of revenue by means of taxation must, therefore, always be a difficult and delicate matter. But India is rich in the labour of man and beast. Here is an untapped source of revenue which some Indian administrator might develop. The problem is by no means one of employing force; it is one of explanation and persuasion—in other words, of real leadership.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS ON THE FRENCH COLONIAL EMPIRE*

By M. FOGT

We must remember that if we can today talk about the French Colonial Empire it is in a very great part due to General de Gaulle and to the courageous handful of men who gathered round him in June, 1940. Together with our great ally, England, and her great leader, Mr. Churchill, they saw that the French Colonial Empire should be kept in the war or brought back into it, and they never deviated from that objective

* Based on a lecture delivered at the University of London Club (United Nations University Centre) on May 3, 1944.

for one moment. Today the French Empire is back in the war fighting the Axis. It is reassembled around General de Gaulle and the French National Committee with the one and only exception of Indo-China—and that exception, we may be sure, is not being lost sight of by the Allied leader.

One word must also be said about the man who, since June, 1940, has been one of General de Gaulle's most trusted and most energetic lieutenants, Mr. René Pleven, who personally went to the Chad in August, 1940, and, with a few other Frenchmen, soldiers, colonial administrators and governors on the spot, rallied that territory and the neighbouring ones of French Equatorial Africa and the French Cameroons for the continuation of the war against the common enemy. Since that day Mr. Pleven's thoughts, his energy and his clear wisdom have guided our colonial territories and regrouped them. He has been through all these years and remains our trusted and enlightened Commissaire aux Colonies.

From the point of view of area and of importance, the French Colonial Empire comes second only to the British Empire.

In the old days—and by this I mean the sixteenth and even the seventeenth centuries—the trade in spices ("le commerce des épices") was practically the only kind of commercial activity between Metropolitan France and her first colonies. This trade in spices was carried out by some big companies who were granted some concessions or monopolies by the King of France. These companies were comparable to the British and Dutch colonial companies which existed also in those days. You know the most famous of those British companies, the "East India Company," which had such important establishments in India.

This trade in spices between France and her colonies was regulated by what was known as the "Colonial Pact," which had been devised and brought into force by Colbert, who in the seventeenth century was Louis XIV.'s greatest Minister. The Colonial Pact has four cardinal points:

1. The colonies had to sell all their products to the mother country.
2. The mother country, in return, bound herself to be a ready buyer of all those colonial products.
3. Imports and exports to and from the colonies had to be transported by French ships.
4. The colonies had to give protection to the articles they received from Metropolitan France, first by refraining from any competitive industrial activity and also by raising customs barriers against similar manufactured articles produced by other countries.

As can be seen, the formula of Empire Protection is not a new one. It was a very strict and very complete protection in those days, and in that shape it may seem very much exaggerated, almost monstrous, nowadays. But in the seventeenth century it was practised by all the European nations who, like England, Holland and a few others, had colonial possessions. All of them were following a similar course, and it was William Pitt who said in the House of Commons, when speaking of Canada, that if that country were to manufacture even a single nail to shoe a horse he would immediately make her feel the might of England.

In other words, in those days the slightest industrial activity was simply forbidden to the colonies by the mother country and the trade of the colonies was entirely reserved to the mother country.

As time passed the rules of the Colonial Pact were gradually relaxed so as to admit of some exceptions, but the principles remained, and these principles can be found as the inspiration behind such recent French colonial legislation as took place in 1892 and 1928.

The aim of that legislation was to create an economic block wherein France, on the one side, and her overseas territories on the other, were helping each other and protecting each other from the disastrous trade cycles which seemed inevitably to recur at more or less regular intervals.

The most serious world crisis of recent times began in 1929. It started in the United States of America, caused by over-production, both industrial and agricultural, in that country. In order to try and remedy the crisis, the U.S.A. raised most import duties drastically; the Hawley-Smoot tariff was passed in 1930. It only helped the

crisis to spread to the European countries and, in fact, to the whole world. The prices of most products, raw materials, colonial products particularly, went down and down, hitting very hard all those overseas territories which depended chiefly on the sale of their agricultural products to Europe for the balance of their economy.

The crisis got worse during the following years: in 1931 England was forced off the gold standard and sterling was devalued; in 1932 the Ottawa Agreement for "protection within the British Empire" was signed; in 1933 the United States, in their turn, followed England's example of 1931 and devalued the dollar.

The crisis made it necessary for France also to reinforce her Imperial protection, and in 1931 Metropolitan France took a series of measures which assured the colonies an outlet for their products.

I will only quote a few of these measures. For instance, the oil products such as groundnuts, palm kernels, from French Africa were guaranteed a ready market in France, whereas the same products from non-French territories were submitted to such import duties that their sale to France was practically out of question, however low the world prices might have fallen.

For some colonial products—such as coffee, for instance—which were not produced by French colonies in sufficient quantities to cover the needs of the mother country, another system of relief was devised in the shape of a consumers' tax in France. In that way—although the country bought coffee from Brazil, for instance, as well as from French territories—the sums raised by that consumers' tax were used towards helping the French colonial coffee planters, and such help was indeed badly needed, for the world price of coffee had, like most other prices, tumbled very low. In many cases these world prices had fallen a good deal below the cost of production.

With the aid of these protective measures France was able to keep things going in her colonies; she was able to prevent misery and starvation and to save production from falling substantially.

On the other hand, in exchange for this help, the colonies raised their tariff walls against non-French manufactured articles or cancelled certain economic advantages which had formerly been consented to some other nations. This is how the Niger Convention was suppressed in the thirties. However, there was no discrimination against foreigners, all of whom had freedom to go and work and settle in the French colonies and protectorates.

And so it was that, because of that world crisis, France and her colonies, binding themselves to each other more tightly than ever, had to a large degree isolated and protected themselves for world competition.

The British Imperial policy of protection was no less complete, nor was it less necessary in the days of world depression.

You must not imagine, however, that in modern days the industrialization of the French colonies was something entirely forbidden by Metropolitan France. In fact, after 1918, some of the French colonies started to forge ahead industrially, and this is particularly true of Indo-China. We shall come back in a moment to Indo-China, but it is interesting to note here that, in 1938, a new definition of colonial economic policy has become necessary because of this industrialization of certain territories. These territories were, in fact, given a certain freedom to enter into autonomous agreements with other countries in order to facilitate the marketing of their manufacture.

DURING THE WAR

There are a few colonies which remained in the war of 1940, thanks to the patriotism and vision of their governors and military commanders. To name only a few, I will mention Governor Eboué, Governor de Saint-Mart, Governor Cournaire, General Leclerc (then a captain), Colonel de Bois-Lambert (then a lieutenant). Those colonies are the Cameroons, French Equatorial Africa, the Chad, New Caledonia, the New Hebrides, Tahiti. These territories have been of strategical importance to the Allies. They have been able to live and breathe freely. They have helped the Allied war effort and the Allies have helped them with supplies.

And here I would like particularly to mention the name of Mr. Monod who, since June, 1940, has at the side of Mr. Plevin done so much for the economic activity of

these colonies and for their welfare and prosperity. He has been the wisest of guides for the economy of these colonies.

The other colonies which were prevented from rallying to General de Gaulle and had to be liberated by the Allies—French West Africa, North Africa, Madagascar, to name only the large ones—have choked under Vichy, Metropolitan France being unable to help them. These territories, now liberated—all of them except Indio-China—need help. They need the stimulant of supplies of goods and equipment. Their productions are under way now and these territories are back in the war and helping the war effort.

Incidentally, it may be pointed out that it is not only in supplies that the colonies are contributing to the war but also in volunteers for the Fighting French Forces, and these in very large numbers.

THE FUTURE

I need not say much about the problems which will confront the Allies after the liberation of Europe. They are well known to everyone. France and the other liberated countries will be in urgent need of everything—food and clothes, raw materials and machinery—and these grave problems are being studied, as you know, by an inter-allied organization, the U.N.R.R.A. (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Association).

As far as France and her colonies are concerned, we hope that our colonial products will enable us to give first-aid to Metropolitan France without ceasing to contribute to the general Allied pool of resources.

In other words, although Metropolitan France will certainly count upon some immediate help from her colonies, we do not want more than our fair share and we know that the supplies will have to be divided equitably.

The French National Committee at Algiers has created a stock-piling organism called the "Office Français d'Approvisionnement," whose rôle is to buy and stock products from our colonies that will be urgently needed by France as first-aid and which can be spared for the moment.

Can one foresee what France's policy will be in regard to her Colonial Empire? This is a most difficult question to answer. The answer will depend on so many circumstances and so many factors which one cannot foretell.

The Allied leaders have given us the Atlantic Charter as a beacon in the darkness of the war and as a goal towards which all nations of goodwill should tend.

In particular, Article 4 of the Atlantic Charter says that all nations, large and small, winners and losers of this war, should be on an equal footing as regards freedom of access to raw materials and to international trade, so that their economic prosperity can be restored and assured.

That is a very important part of the Charter for the colonies, because it is in those vast, semi-civilized countries that many raw materials are produced.

We have seen that in pre-war days, when one world crisis followed another, protection within the empire had become a necessity. Without it a large number of territories would have been reduced to starvation, while on the other hand the industries of the mother country would have suffered still more acute unemployment and misery.

The régime of the open door is certainly to be aimed at, but, of course, it must be general and world-wide, without any notable exceptions, otherwise it is doomed to failure. We have seen that the tariff policy of the U.S.A. in 1930 was one of the most important factors in precipitating and aggravating the crisis which hit the whole world so hard in the years between 1930 and 1934.

The abandonment of an imperial protective policy can only take place if certain conditions of world stability and international co-operation are realized.

These ideas are very much to the fore now, and in America particularly conferences have been held already which have examined some of these questions.

What the industrialized countries want is to have outlets for the surplus production of their manufactured goods, and they naturally look to the backward countries or semi-developed ones of Africa and Asia as the best markets for these goods. But one point must be stressed which, I think, is very important for the colonial territories, and that is the necessity for those territories of being certain of two things:

One is that their products, raw materials, primary foodstuffs, etc., will be steadily bought and absorbed by Europe and America—in fact, by the rest of the world.

The other thing is that the prices of these products and raw materials, foodstuffs, etc., will be comparatively stable.

In pre-war days, neither of these two things was realized except for a few—very few—products, such as rubber, tea and tin.

But for the majority of products and raw materials, what did we see in those years of peace between the two wars? We saw some periods of scarcity during which prices rose to very high figures, followed by periods of over-production and glut, during which the consuming countries withdrew their demand and prices fell below the cost of production of most of these colonial products.

Such fluctuations of price and demand may be hard even for the rich European and American nations, but they hit the backward countries, the semi-developed colonial territories, very much harder. When the African native finds that he cannot sell his cocoa or his palm oil or his groundnut, or that he is offered miserable prices for them, then he just stops looking after his farm. He stops producing. He also stops buying imported goods, as he has no money to buy them with.

It seems, therefore, that the first thing for international co-operation to do, after this war, is to create the stability of demand and of prices for all the great raw materials or basic foodstuffs which are produced in these large colonial areas. By what means can this be achieved?

Some propositions have already been made at the American conferences I have mentioned, most of them inspired by what had already been realized in pre-war days for some products, such as rubber, tin, tea.

Regulation of production, meaning either restriction or expansion as dictated by circumstances, creation of buffer pools—such are the chief ideas which have been put forward.

Another of the important questions which requires handling on the international plane is that severe fluctuations in the exchange values of the currencies of the world should be avoided. That seems another basic precaution to take before we can remove the protective measures. You know that the Allied Governments are very much concerned with this matter. English experts have submitted a World Monetary Plan which bears the name of Lord Keynes. The Americans have evolved the White Plan.

This was a year ago, and since then experts not only of the U.S.A. and of England, but of other countries, including Russia, have been busy comparing notes, trying to conciliate the opposite views of these two plans. The result of these discussions has been the scheme for an International Fund, which was published less than a fortnight ago, as a fresh basis for discussion. Let us hope that some agreement will be reached on something really workable and practical on this very important problem.

If the international basis of co-operation on all such questions is firmly established, then we shall be nearer to the aim set up by the Atlantic Charter. But if, unfortunately, in spite of all efforts, agreement could not be reached on these fundamental points, then the great economic entities of the world—the British Empire, the United States of America, the French Colonial Empire, Russia—would have to revert to self-protection. It would be foolish to remove the safeguards before the world is economically safer. Mr. Churchill himself said in the House of Commons that when discussing the Atlantic Charter with Mr. Roosevelt in 1941, he asked from the American President a definite assurance that the British Commonwealth and Empire were no more committed to the abolition of imperial preference than the American Government was committed to the abolishment of their protective tariff. This was a wise precaution indeed. We certainly must try to move forward, but we must all move together and in the same direction.

However, there are very good signs which give one some hope for the future. During this war a very large degree of stability has been achieved for colonial products. I wish here to mention the West African Produce Control Board, which was set up and organized by the British Colonial Office and at which the French National Committee is represented. This West African Board buys all the production of cocoa

and oilseeds from all the British and French territories of West Africa, thus ensuring stability of price and certainty of outlet. The work of this African Board has contributed in a great measure to the war effort and to the economic stability of those colonies and the well-being of its populations.

Perhaps this purchasing and distributing body will serve as an example of what can be done in that direction. It may in time become a truly international board, which will deal with the produce not only of West Africa but of other territories.

As I have mentioned this happy creation, I would like to end this talk with a few words of thanks for the invaluable help that our British colleagues of the Colonial Office and of the other London Ministries have so generously given us through the last few years, since 1940. They have placed their knowledge and their experience at our service with the greatest courtesy and kindness. Those who have—as I have—worked with them will always remember those years of happy co-operation with gratefulness.

THE RETURN OF THE EXILE*

BY RANJEE SHAHANI

ONE hot day Maxim Gorky met Tolstoy on the road and began to tell him, among other things, that he had just had a letter from V. G. Korolenko. The sage shook his head angrily. "Does he believe in God?" he asked gruffly.

"I do not know."

"That means you do not know the chief thing about him."

Belief in God—is that the chief thing about a man? Most modern critics will laugh at me for even asking the question. They will say that I am naïve, primitive or fabulously foolish. They may be right. Yet there is not one of these critics who does not bend the knee before this or that idol of the moment. And I venture to think that of all humiliations the least humiliating thing is the humiliation before God.

Such, any way, is the fundamental feeling of Edward Thompson. The chief thing about him is his belief in God. He sings:

"Thou Living Purpose, dimly understood,
Thou Whom I held for known,
And Whom I served, a Will beyond my own,
What is this word
Now in the darkness of my spirit heard?
And what this questioning, whether ill or good
I know not, so my heart is vexed
And all my mind perplexed?
Whether Thou art all, or just and wise
(As once we held) and good past all surmise,
Or evil, is a thing hid from my eyes,
That only know Thou art not to be found.
Pity the heart Thy hands have made, the will
In darkness wavering, fain to serve thee still!
Now, ere the day in cloud and mist go out,
Answer, and save! Now, in this dusk of doubt,
To this poor flickering mind that perisheth,
Ah, speak, with some clear word, of life, not death!"

The note here is neither triumphant nor tinkled out on a fairy bell, but it is clear enough. To talk of God one must use the shy, caressing language of love, or one

* 100 Poems. By Edward Thompson. (Oxford University Press.) 6s. net.

must shout like Kabir. Tepidness is the sin. Thompson raises his voice boldly in "The Mystic Knight":

"Nearer than flesh or frame He stood,
Stirring by life and soul and brain
The languid pulses of my blood
To earlier ecstasies again.
Kneeling in spirit, but in limb
Steadfast, unquivering, unafraid,
With unveiled eyes I stood by Him,
Pavilioned with obsequious shade.
One was I with that Living Light
Whereof all stars and spirits be,
Whose tabernacle is cloud and night,
Whose ways are firmament and sea."

The whole poem should be read; the incense that rises from it is a call to prayer.

Thompson, then, is a religious poet; religious not in the narrow, sectarian sense of the word, but in a deeper way. He firmly believes in God. That belief colours his whole being and gives him strength to fight some very terrifying giants. One thing, however, has disappointed me: Thompson hymns the praises of Jesus—that is only right and proper—but not the praises of the Buddha, Krishna or Rama. Have our master spirits nothing to say to him? To me, I confess, this is a puzzle, since Thompson has such a fine understanding of our inwardness. But there is "The Sufi's Prayer"—a little gem; let us be grateful for it:

"Though in front of folk I call Thee Lord,
And such high titles use
As men to glorify their great ones choose,
Yet in the silence of my heart is word
Far other; facing Thee in darkness, I
'Dear Comrade,' and again, 'Dear Comrade,' cry."

Religious poets are very rarely intellectual: they have faith, they do not reason. Thompson, on the contrary, has a powerful mind. Consider Poem 91; it is packed with clarified thought. And the language is truly remarkable: the words have the hard cold glitter of tempered steel. Here is a passage chosen at random:

"Day swooned on day, drugged with the all-drowning sun:
Night was a vigil set for the *Khamzin's* blast.
High in the glaze-brimmed vault the vulture's vans
Shadowed our kestrel spirits that feared to rise,
Till dusk came leaden and dull,
Lit with the dead men's stare—the desert lilith's glare—
And our bodies flung down, like the drought-struck flowers that droop.
Yet even those hours have run.
We have come to some end at last.

The rugged splendour of this poem has not been surpassed by Browning at his best. It is a masterpiece. The item entitled "Dixit Insipiens" is also very fine. The opening lines are worth noting:

"When mind above
Dim sea of consciousness
Dawned, speech I heard:
That Thou wast Love—
Power—Righteousness—
Uttering Itself unceasingly—the Rock
Of Ages, set in Being's fluctuant stream.
And in my own life, I confess,
That (more or less)
This faith looked fact."

I hope I have not given the impression that Thompson is a solemn poet who only talks of the immensities. That would be to misinterpret him. He can be as playful as a kitten. Indeed, he has told us in advance what he thinks of us critics :

" In the meadow behind the house
This morning I saw
Cows feeding on apple-blossoms.
Wrench
Crunch
Munch
Shatter and scatter,
They bit off more than they could chew,
And splashed the grass
With bright pink petals.
There they stood, crushing
In wrinkled and crinkled
Asquint and askew
Wicked black jaws
Mouthfuls of present beauty
And harvest to be.

I told my neighbour the poet.
He scowled, and said he knew
Reviewers exactly like those cows.

Even though the cow is a noble animal, with many virtues, no critic would like to be called a cow. Personally, I adore blossoms, and would not dream of crunching or munching them. But how can one crunch a blossom?

Thompson is not a flute player, but a kind of one-man band. He gives us all sorts of tunes, and most of them are agreeable. The music that he makes about India—see " *Srāvan* " and " *An Old Woman* "—is now grand, now very, very sad. But that is perhaps the spirit of India—at once grand and sad. About war reporters Thompson has some very biting things to say; in fact, he skins them alive. But he is not particularly tender to himself. He knows that he has gone hither and thither, and made himself a motley to the crowd. Enough of that, he cries. He must return to his first love; he has been an exile too long :

" Forgive me, Rose and Nightingale !
The poet lays aside
The silly wisdom that he served,
His misbelieving pride
Belcagured in a jangling mob
Of sordid jays and crows,
I did not hear thee, Nightingale !
I did not see thee, Rose !

Accept me, Moth and Downy Owl !
Show me your warm deep eyes,
Moon-glimmering wings ! Night-gliding ghost
On velvet winking skies !
The heart that turns from rightousness
(As others turn from sin)
With fierce repentance such as mine,
No devil back shall win !"

This is how Thompson repents for political activity. I sincerely hope he will indulge in more political activity and repent again as beautifully.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

KING GEORGE VI. AND HIS PEOPLE: A Tribute to Britain. By Philip Paneth. (*Alliance Press.*) 3s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by PROFESSOR L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS.)

This attractive little book, embodying the views of a well-known Continental journalist upon the British Monarchy as it exists today, should have a ready sale in Britain and overseas. Here at home it will be read with interest, for it is good to know how our own institutions strike able and observant foreigners. Do we always remember, for example, that our King and Queen are almost the only living Crowned Heads who habitually move freely among their people, not only without an armed guard, but within touching distance of all and sundry? Also, have we sufficiently reflected upon the significance of the fact that to us it is not a case of "The King" or "The Queen," but of "The King and Queen"? There are a number of such things, which do not seem to us remarkable because we are accustomed to them and accept them, which strike an observer like Mr. Paneth as being very remarkable indeed; so remarkable that he sets himself to track down the explanation of them. As a result, this book has a wider scope than would be suggested by its title.

Mr. Paneth's first object, it is true, is to present the King—and the Queen—both as persons and as institutions. He has been remarkably successful. He follows both Sovereigns from the time when they first emerged into public life until the present moment; he describes their ever-closer identification with their subjects, their embodiment of all that is best in British life, their steady pursuit of duty. He gives a lively and charming picture of their family circle, illustrated by some of the most gracious and delightful photographs imaginable. He proceeds to outline the important functions which the King discharges under the constitution of Britain, together with the wholly essential rôle played by the Monarchy in the structure both of the Commonwealth and of the Empire. On these subjects there is perhaps a little more to be said than Mr. Paneth finds to say; and the emphasis is not always placed where an Englishman would put it. For example, we attach greater importance to what the King actually does than to what the Constitution permits him to do. We know that during the last few reigns our Kings have all become the most skilled, as well as the most exalted, of public servants. They see and know so much more than any single Prime Minister, no matter how eminent; their experience of men and things becomes, as time goes on, wholly unique; without any intrusion upon the constitutional responsibilities of their Ministers they can and do help so much in every crisis. For they can think, not for this party or for that party, not for this policy or for that policy, but for the country as a whole. But the supreme value of this practical wisdom is that it is unobtrusive. It may help a Monarch to discuss with an outgoing Prime Minister the national needs, and thus perhaps to shape the final suggestion submitted for the new Prime Minister; but it would not of itself lead the Monarch to overrule that suggestion, despite the existence of the sovereign prerogative of final choice.

In the discussion of this and other matters, Mr. Paneth finds himself drawn imperceptibly into a larger field. In explaining the operation of the British monarchy he is driven to analyse the British character, the British way of life and the British idea of freedom. Here also he is most illuminating; laying his finger upon a number of points which do not strike us as remarkable, but which Mr. Paneth, with his wide experience of other countries, knows to be very unusual indeed. For example, our sense of law strikes him as strange; we have not a particularly good system—at least, as measured by the scientific codes of the Continent—but we believe in it and we will not allow it to be challenged. Again, we do not believe in equality, except equality before the law and equality of opportunity, for we know that individual endowment of talent differs so widely and we prefer facts to fancies. Nor, to take another example, have we as a nation ever accepted the distinction, so widely recognized elsewhere, between public and private morality. Our public servants may have

to do in their official capacity, at least from time to time, things which they would not do in their private capacity as citizens; but we do not like it—indeed, we reprobate it; and from time to time an outburst of popular indignation, based purely upon the national idea of what is right and wrong, will sweep away all the arguments of statecraft, as in the case of the Hoare-Laval agreement. In fact, we work as a people by intuition rather than by logic; we think that we have found out how to live in the world, and we know that logic does not rule human nature.

Mr. Paneth pays a very handsome tribute to the valour and determination of the people of this land, from our Sovereigns to our humblest citizens. I think he would share the opinion of the late F. S. Oliver that there is a disposition among the English to be friendly with other nations, but that they are possessed by an invincible determination to live as well as by a willingness to let others live. I commend this little book very heartily.

The views expressed in these pages must be taken as those of the individual contributors. THE ASIATIC REVIEW does not hold itself responsible for them.

Bulletin of the Imperial Institute

A Quarterly Record of Progress relating to Agricultural, Mineral and other Industries, with Special Reference to the Utilization of the Raw Materials of the Dominions, India and the Colonies.

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF CURRENT ISSUE

Vol. XLII, No. 2, April-June, 1944

Bacteriological Tests on Agar made from Australian Seaweed.

Xanthorrhoea Resin.

Economic Conditions in West Africa

Geological Survey Work in Canada.

The Graphite Deposits of Ceylon.

Bibliographies on Agriculture, Forestry, Insecticide

Materials of Vegetable Origin and Mineral Resources.

Book Reviews.

LONDON: IMPERIAL INSTITUTE, SOUTH KENSINGTON, S.W. 7

Price 2s. 6d., by post 2s. 9d.

Annual Subscription, 10s., post free

